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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COOPERATION OF

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Modern Language Notes

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HISTORY AS COSTUME IN HEBBEL'S DRAMAS

Two distinct ideas run through the passages in which Hebbel defines the relation of drama to history.¹ The first is the idea of history, the second is that of the social basis of the drama. Hebbel rejects the notion of antiquarian interest in historical drama. The dramatist, he says, can give only himself and the vital ideas of his times as reflected in his mind. The choice of an historical subject is only a matter of convenience, and theoretically an invented story could serve just as well. In short what makes the drama "historical" is never in the subject-matter (*im Stoff*). Hebbel says in so many words that the value of a drama will be in its revealing the character of the poet and his contemporaries, rather than in showing how they conceived of their remote ancestors. "Die Geschichte ist für den Dichter ein Vehikel zur Verkörperung seiner Anschauungen und Ideen, nicht aber ist umgekehrt der Dichter der Auferstehungsengel der Geschichte" (XI, 9; XIII, 4, 32).

From this it appears that the significance of the drama as history lies in its representing the poet's own age and not that from which the subject-matter is taken. Support of this interpretation is found in the *Vorwort zu Maria Magdalena*, in the well-known passage where great drama is limited to epochal crises in the *Weltanschauung* of the race, and such crises are defined as three, represented respectively by the Greek, the Shakesperean, and the modern drama. The historical importance of Aeschylus and Shakespeare is that they embody their respective crises. So modern

¹ Important ones are, R. M. Werner edition, XI, 5, 9, 20, 22, 34, 35, 36-38, 40, 43, 57-61, 63; XIII, 4, 32.

drama, embodying the present great crisis, which the poet clearly defines, will have its highest historical value in the future.²

Assuming for a moment that this is the only interpretation to be put on the poet's words, it would mean that his dramas are fundamentally modern, even when, as is rarely the case, they do not employ a contemporary costume. We should accordingly describe his procedure as follows: In *Judith* and *Genoveva* he began to symbolize in historical or legendary costume; then, under the influence of *Das junge Deutschland*, he adopted contemporary costume in *Maria Magdalena* and *Julia*; and finally from a well-considered point of view he decided to employ again the more remote setting (*Herodes to Demetrius*). His whole preoccupation would be, as radical or conservative, with the problems of his own critical age, and the choice of costume solely a matter of form. We might compare him with Ibsen in this respect, who began with a remote symbolism, later to adopt the contemporary mask.

The case is, however, not quite so simple as this. Closer attention to the passages in question (especially XI, 5, 20, 22, 35, 36-37, 58-69) will show some statements that do not seem to fit this interpretation. In them Hebbel not only speaks of preserving the atmosphere of the times, which might mean keeping the unity of costume, he distinguishes the *materielle Hälfte der Geschichte* from the *geistige*, he mentions the necessity of using the decisive historical crises (XI, 5). Such passages indicate that in addition to catching the spirit of his own times he was concerned with catching the spirit of the age from which the costume was chosen. We also know that Hebbel, for example, supposed that his *Judith* symbolized the conflict between Jew and heathen, that in his *Agnes Bernauer* he had set up a monument to the old German state, and his other dramas are likewise said to represent some important historical crisis or transition.

The question naturally arises as to which of these two points of view the poet took more consistently in his dramas. For if both of them are to apply at once, a serious problem of form is involved. How can a drama really represent some past transitional crisis and also that present crisis of which the poet speaks at such length? Yet it seems that Hebbel in youthful exuberance

²R. M. Werner, XII, pp. xx and xxvii, lucidly summarizes this phase of Hebbel's theory.

actually set such a goal for himself. After characterizing contemporary drama as historical, social, *or* philosophical, he declared a union of the three to be his own objective. (See also R. M. Werner, XIII, p. xx). Disregarding the antiquarian drama, which the true poet would ordinarily rule out, we may assume that the maker of any historical drama will select some theme enabling him to reveal great conflict of character or emotions. In *Macbeth* or *Wallenstein* we see tremendous forces and passions at work, the human interest everywhere dominating, in the past as in the present. Or in *Faust* the poet has used the characters and costume of the sixteenth century to express the spirit of rebellion actuating his own youth. Ibsen, in his *Emperor and Galilean*, found a theme that had a particular relation to the nineteenth century: resistance in both cases to the sway of Christianity.

In none of these cases is the present interest unique or peculiar to the contemporary age. It is an interest of so broad an appeal that it might be a product of an earlier age as well. This does not hold true, however, of the interest referred to in the term "social" as Hebbel used it. The social interest he had in mind was that demanded by *Das junge Deutschland*. The phase of it that concerned Hebbel most was the relation of the sexes. That relation had become problematic and was to remain problematic throughout the drama of the nineteenth century. Hebbel's dramas were the first permanent embodiment in dramatic form of this issue, and it is the possibility of uniting this specific social problem with drama as history that concerns us here. For this is a problem peculiar to modern times, or if that is too risky an assertion, let us say it is not implicit in any of the material that the poet selected to make his dramas of.

If in theory therefore the poet thought he could create a drama which at once symbolized a significant epoch of history and the peculiar social issue of his own age, how do his dramas actually impress us? Did he succeed in fusing two such heterogeneous elements, or do his dramas really fall into two classes—one employing history merely as costume, the other representing the historical drama as ordinarily understood? It seems to me clear that the second of these alternatives is true. A brief review of the dramas will reveal these two groups. Those dramas in which the relation between man and woman is treated problematically, dis-

regarding of course the few in modern costume, are in the first group: They are *Judith*, *Herodes und Mariamne*, and *Gyges*. This problem also appears in *Genoveva*, though in a more general way, and it is not emphasized. The other plays, *Agnes Bernauer*, *Nibelungen*, *Demetrius*, are historical dramas of the regular kind.

In *Judith* Hebbel attempted to combine the historical setting with a nineteenth century problem. And the more he prided himself, justly enough, on his success in capturing the *Atmosphäre der Zeiten*, on the life and truth of his street scenes, the more incongruous does the figure of his heroine become. The very thing that made the Apocryphal Judith a monster in Hebbel's eyes was what made her an integral part of her real environment. The naive popular character of the story guarantees that. Hebbel's Judith would have been impossible in Bethulia. This immediately struck his critics, who said (Vischer most clearly) that the modern characters spoiled the historical setting. It would have been nearer the truth to say that the historical setting spoiled the modern characters, for it was the modern characters that gave the play its lasting value. This incongruity is most glaring in *Judith*. With increasing experience the poet softened though he could never quite overcome the contradictions inherent in his intentions. For in his own words he tells us that he symbolized in this drama a philosophical idea (individuation), an historical situation (Jewish-Heathen conflict) and a modern social problem (relation of the sexes). If we ask ourselves, however, which of these things lends the tragedy its unique interest, the answer is not difficult. The individuation theory is a pale abstraction. The Jewish-Heathen conflict is better represented in the old story than in Hebbel's drama. If Hebbel's *Judith* lives, it will live because it is the first important play in which the problematic relation of the sexes finds embodiment.

In *Genoveva* we find the same conflict between historical atmosphere and sophisticated characters. The misdirected passion of Golo is not specifically modern, though the extent of its analysis is. The modern aspects of the Genoveva-Siegfried relation are slightly emphasized. Mediaeval on the other hand is the bearing of Genoveva, who finds her solace in religion. If the predominant impression of *Judith* is modern, that of *Genoveva* is historical.

To Fr. Th. Vischer, commenting on *Maria Magdalena*, it seemed

that Hebbel had made a great advance in selecting a contemporary subject. He interpreted *Judith* as well as *Genoveva* as historical drama, and from that angle he deplored the incongruity between character and setting. Hebbel may or may not have understood this warning. At any rate, in spite of Vischer, he decided after *Julia* that he had better chances of doing permanent work in the remote costume. He instinctively recognized the advantages of such a costume. The age alone of a time-honored fable guarantees that the weak and temporary elements have been abraded. The tale is worn to a durable form. There must be something perennial in its parts and their relation. Such a form, if it can only be adapted to the problem in hand, is sufficiently abstract to avoid the danger threatening transient customs and particular versions, to which the contemporary costume is always exposed. Ibsen's *Doll's House* is a case in point. The special problem of this drama is cast in a form that already is somewhat obvious and commonplace. The persons are growing old-fashioned. Hebbel deals with the same problem in *Herodes und Mariamne*, but he handles it more philosophically, more abstractly, in short with more beauty. Or if we compare *Herodes und Mariamne* and *Gyges* with *Maria Magdalena*, we see that the poet was right and his critic wrong in the question of costume, for the last-named play is much more limited in appeal than the first two. It must be borne in mind, however, that Hebbel did not in these two tragedies accomplish what he set out to do, for they are not historical plays, but modern plays in which history is only costume. Neither could claim a very great interest, to say nothing of a unique interest, as interpreting an historical crisis, while from the point of view of the nineteenth century, to dispense with them would be to take from modern drama its first great representative and its most original poet.

The two tragedies, *Herodes und Mariamne* and *Gyges*, in which a specifically modern interest is abstractly expressed in historical costume, are especially instructive on their formal side. In the former play the poet has skilfully used the historical transition from an age of oriental despotism to one in which the conception of the value of the individual is at any rate foreshadowed, in order to form a symbol of the dramatic struggle of woman in our times to be treated as a person rather than as a possession. In *Gyges*,

on the other hand, there is no particular fitness between the legend and the modern idea, except as Hebbel has introduced it by a very clever assumption. The legendary material is sufficiently vague to justify his procedure, and from the same point of view his instinct led him aright in the use he made of the mystic aspects of the story, especially the magic ring. A legendary material, because of its indefiniteness in time and locality, is better adaptable to what the poet desires to say than a more clearly cut historical episode. A brief analysis reveals that Hebbel made good use of the possibilities of his material. The central idea of the drama is again, as in *Herodes und Mariamne*, the inviolability of a woman's personal rights. Hebbel also claimed for it the *Idee der Sitte*. These two ideas stand in the play in a noteworthy relation to each other. Kandaules is shown as despising the customs of his people, and violating the sacredness of his wife's personality. Not, however, in one and the same action, for in regard to Rhodope he transgressed no custom of his own country. Indeed Hebbel assures us (outside of the drama) that the only possible excuse for Kandaules' action is that it was in an age when women were looked upon as a possession. What therefore Kandaules would seem to violate is a personal and individual feeling of his wife. Yet it is more. For by the assumption of the poet the king in marrying Rhodope knew and accepted her customs, as far as she was concerned. Thus in his action toward her he also reveals his general attitude toward *Sitte* as well. By this clever stroke Hebbel fused his two ideas into one. The legendary material because of its vagueness is not hostile to such freedom of treatment. Again as in *Herodes und Mariamne*, Hebbel found an abstract and beautiful symbol for his message.

The three great dramas, *Agnes Bernauer*, *Nibelungen*, and *Demetrius* are historical dramas. There is in them almost nothing in form or content, that marks them as *specifically* modern in interest, which of course does not mean that they lack human interest. In the *Nibelungen* Hebbel said he wished to be merely an interpreter. The form in which the violated personality is here embodied is the same as in the old tale, and in that particular form (hate born of despised love) it is not characteristic of modern times. *Demetrius* is perhaps of all the plays of Hebbel the one

most conventionally historical, and probably points the direction the poet would have taken had he lived longer.

On the other hand a case might be made out for *Agnes Bernauer* as a symbolic drama. The poet has told us what he intended to symbolize: the representative authority of the state as greater than the greatest individual. The drama was Hebbel's reaction to the unbridled license, as he considered it to be, of the revolution of 1848. Two considerations would influence one to classify this work as historical rather than modern. First is its admittedly conservative tendency, which is at variance with the spirit of the drama of the nineteenth century, though it may have been a wiser and more philosophic tendency. The second and more important is that the poet does not succeed in subduing his material to conform to his meaning. That is, the rationalizing end is much less impressive than the magnificent Agnes-Albrecht love scenes, and in fact rather incongruous with them, in spite of all the cunning Hebbel has brought to bear on that part. It is correct and reasonable but chilling. Indeed the historical significance here does lie largely *im Stoff*, and Hebbel said the right thing about this drama when he declared it to be a monument to the old German state.

Hebbel assumed that he could write a type of drama in which both the past age and his own age could be adequately represented. There could be no more striking illustration of his rationalizing mental processes, from the consequences of which he was saved only by his still greater poetic genius. He was one of the most brilliant pedants that ever wrote. In no single work did he effect a union of the two elements mentioned. What he really did was to produce two kinds of drama: one prevailing historical in the conventional sense, the other essentially modern, in historical costume. It is the second group that gives him his title to fame as the originator of modern drama in the narrower sense of that term. In these dramas he dealt with the problematic relation between man and woman, which Ibsen then took up, and after him the whole series of modern dramatists, to illuminate it in their own peculiar fashion.

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THE TRANSLATIONS OF JOHN TIPTOFT

John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, has drawn to himself the attention of students of English life and letters as a brilliant and baleful figure, type and precursor of the work of the Renaissance in England. He was on one side of his life the fore-runner of Erasmus and Ascham, of Sidney and Milton, on the other of Thomas Cromwell and Strafford. We catch but glimpses of him, all striking and impressive: the brilliant master of ceremonies laying down the laws of a tournament; the coldly cruel judge, an engine of tyrannous revenge; the polished orator, moving the most critical audience in the world to tears with his beautiful Latin; the fosterer and student of ancient learning, enriching his own tongue with foreign treasure; the faithful Christian, calling on the headsman to prolong his agony by striking him to death with three blows in honor of the blessed Trinity.¹

To the historian of literature it is a matter of importance to know the extent and character of his acquisitions, and still more to know the use to which he put them.

Four extant translations have been attributed to him by careful students, two on contemporary evidence and two by later conjecture. Caxton tells us (in a volume made up of translations of Cicero's *Cato Major De Senectute* and *Laelius De Amicitia*, and Buonaccorso's oration *De Honestate*) that Tiptoft translated the *Laelius* and the *De Honestate*. Leland inferred from various circumstances that the *Cato Major* also was by Tiptoft, and many (not the most cautious) writers since his day have followed his lead. In addition, a translation of passages from Caesar's *Gallie War* dealing with the invasion of Britain, printed about 1530, has been attributed to this first of English noblemen after Duke Humphrey to share the spirit of the Renaissance. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the evidence for Tiptoft's authorship in each case.

Caxton's testimony to the effect that Tiptoft translated the *Laelius* and Buonaccorso's oration need not be questioned. Caxton's

¹ The article on Tiptoft, *Dictionary of National Biography*, assembles the data excellently; Warkworth's Chronicle, Camden Society, Vol. 10, pp. 5, 9 (1839); Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner, London, 1900.

references to the earl are those of one who knew him personally and admired him warmly, and Caxton was an honest and careful man who had no motives for misrepresentation.

With regard to the *Cato Major* Caxton does not say who translated it, but declares that the translation was made from the French of Laurence de Premierfait, at the request of Sir John Fastolf. Perhaps because the translation from Buonaccorso had been made from a French version by de Premierfait, and since de Premierfait was known also to have translated the *Laelius*, it was inferred by Leland² that all three were from de Premierfait's French, and all three by Tiptoft. But the very fact that Caxton does not attribute the *Cato Major* to the earl is almost conclusive against the possibility that Tiptoft was the author. Caxton tells us, besides, that the translation was made at the request of Sir John Fastolf. Now, Sir John came back to England in 1440 and died in 1459, and was in some sort a patron of letters and learning during this period. During the last years of Fastolf Worcester was very busy in the public service. It was between 1459 and 1462 that he visited Italy and carried on his studies, and it was then or later that he could most easily have written his translations. Dates, accordingly, are against the likelihood that he wrote anything for Fastolf. Moreover, to ask for a translation or any other work of letters was the act of a patron; it would have been socially impossible for a plain soldier, a simple knight, like Sir John to have taken such a liberty with one of the foremost men of the kingdom.

Anstis³ attributes the translation of *De Senectute* to William of Worcester. Blades suggests the possibility that Stephen Scrope, Fastolf's son-in-law, might have translated the Cicero as he earlier translated the Dictes and Sayings (Blades 191).

I do not know where Anstis' attribution is made; but though it is without direct evidence, it is much more than a random guess. Gairdner, in his edition of the Paston Letters, accepts it as a fact. William of Worcester was a "servant" of Fastolf, and he studied French in order to translate certain works for his patron. He complained at Fastolf's death that he had received no return for his devoted services.

² Blades, W., *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1863; Vol. II, p. 92.

³ Blades, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 92.

He did make a translation of *De Senectute* which he offered to William of Waynflete without receiving any recognition. It is certainly not unlikely that he made his version at Fastolf's request, and that this book is his work.⁴ The last name of William of Worcester and the title of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, are the same, and the coincidence of having each Worcester the author of one of the translations from Cicero might easily have led Leland into confusion.

The attribution of the passages from Caesar is not rejected in such standard books of reference as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and is accepted in Murray's *Dictionary*.⁵ The fact that Tiptoft did not translate the Caesar may be proved by the simplest means. In the first place, all the Latin place-names appear with French equivalents. *Atrebatibus*, "them of Arras" (Bk. IV, cap. 21); *Equites Haedui*, "the knights of Autun" (v, 7); *Veneticum bellum*, "battellie of Vannes" (iv, 21). The presumption that the version is from the French is easily verified. Place side by side the Latin text the French of Robert Gaguin, and the English. *Milites*, vaillians cheualiers; valyant knightes (iv, 25) *navi longa*; vne longue nef, que nous disons maintenant vne gallee; a longe shyppe (whych we call a Gallye) (iv, 21). *In Morinos*; aux Moriens/ cest adire au pays de therouenne; to the Morinyens (now callyd the contre nere to therouen); (iv, 21). *Ulteriorem portum*; laultre part; the other part (iv, 23). *Neque enim temere praeter mercatores adiit ad illos quisquam, neque iis ipsis quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones, quae sunt contra Galliam notum est* (i. e., the merchants knew little of Britain); Et ceulz aussi de lisle de Bretagne ne congnoissent riens du demeurant de la terre fors les contrees marchissans a lamer et les aultres q̄ sont du coste de gaule (i. e., the Britons knew little of Gaul); And they also of y^e Ile of Britayn had no knolege of no parte of the stedfaste londe/ but of the countres marchyng on the seesyde/ and the other placys of the coste of France (iv, 20).

Gaguin's version, being complete, must be the source of the selections. Now as to the date of the French version. It ends thus:

⁴ Paston Letters, Introduction, p. lxxiv.

⁵ S. v. *Devoir* (thus dating the word early).

Cy finist la translation des commentaire iulius césar sur le faict de la conqueste du pays de gaule faicte et mise en françois et presentee au roy Charles huitiesme de france par frere Robert gaguin docteur en decret, et general ministre de lordre des freres de saincte trinite et redemption de prisonniers christiens Lan Mil CCCC octante VIII."

Tiptoft was beheaded in 1470.

There are two known French printed editions, one of ca. 1500, the other of 1525; and the English translation was printed ca. 1530. It has not been possible for me to determine which French edition was used by the English translator; but there is no safe ground for dating the translation much earlier than the printing of it.

If the Caesar had been translated by Tiptoft, it would have stood as the almost solitary effort to provide an English version of any classical history before the sixteenth century, and would have entitled Tiptoft to recognition for a profundity of insight into the movements of thought in which he took part almost preternatural. For him to try his skill on Cicero's morals and rhetoric was not wonderful, but the idea of the importance of history, and especially of Caesar's history, had not made its appearance in England in his day. It is distinction enough for Tiptoft to be the first cultivated English nobleman of the Renaissance model, without putting him ahead of his age.

Moreover, the *Laelius* is not, as has been thought, from de Premierfait's French, but is direct from the Latin. Any page will show this fact. For example:

Athenis unum accepiamus
We have vnderstande
et eum quidem etiam Apollinis
One in Athenes/ And that he was
oraculo sapientissimum: hanc es-
so shewed and Iuged by the an-
swere of Appole/ But thurgh
se in te sapientiam existimant,
such wisdom to be in you,
that ye suppose/ hou ye haue
ut omnia tua in te posita esse
nothyng but such as is your
plenare poware and therwith
ducas humanosque casus virtute
euery fortune happe or chaunge

Socrates qui selon le respon
du saige dieu Appollo fut rep
pute le tres saige de tous
hommes lors viuant Maiz lelius
par vertu et aussi par sapience
surmonta les sept saiges de grece.
Et si te dy Lelius que ceulx qui
plus subtillement enquierent
Ils extiment et croyent estre en
toy si grande sapienceque tu
peulx dire que tous les biens
sont mis dedans toy mesme. Et

be subget to vertu, which caus-

inferiores putes. Itaque ex me
eth Sevola here present. And me
to praye you/ that

quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scae-
we may understande, how ye take
the deth of Scipio Affryan, and

vola, quonam pacto mortem Africa-
moche the rather/ sith at our

ni feras, eoque magis quod pro-
assemblee, this othir day in the
gardyn of Decius Brutus/ so

imis Nonis, cum in hortis D. Bru-
were we wonte to entrecomyne of
dyuerse matiers concernyng our

ti auguris commentandi cause, ut
weel publik/ ye were not

assolet, venissemus, tu non affu-
present, where ye ne fayled in
isti, qui diligentissime semper
tymes past with all diligence
illum diem et illud munus solitus
there to accomplish your dutie
esses obire. (II. 7.)

Eo errore careo, quo amicorum

I lak that errour/ that causeth

decessu plerique angi solent,

othir to be of the vexyd whan
their frendes decesse. (III, 10)

Quod si exemeris ex natura rerum

And take away from nature the

si peux Iuger que tous cas de
fortune soient moindres que nest
ta vertu qui entre douce et
amere fortune pareillement se
maintient et ne tient conte de
douleur ne de amertume. Pourtant
doncques ces deux ycy Sceuola en
disant par quelle maniere tu le-
lius endurez et portes lamort de
Scipion Affricain Et plus fort
me Interroguent pour ce que en
cestes nonnes prouchaines qui com-
mencerent second jour de janui-
er et fineront cinqyesme jour dudit
moys quant nous venismes aux jar-
dins de decius brutus noble cytoy-
en Romain lors pour cause de par-
lementer ensemble a faire elections
de personnes pour auoir les digni-
tes et nobles offices de Romme Et
pour aduiser les future cas des
choses affin que plus legierement
on y pourueust ainsi comme nous
auons de coustume tu lelius ne fus
pas lors present et si as accoustume
tres diligemment garder le jour des
elections et de accomplir loffice
de annoncer qui en nos elections
obtient la premiere voix.

Je ne suis point comprimé
sous celle erreur et folie
selon laquelle plusieurs
hommes seulent estre angoisseux
et troubles pour la deceurance et
perte de leurs amis ou mors ou
esloignis erroneement euidant
que les ames meurent avec les corps
ce qui nest pas.

Et dentre les chose que dame
nature fist tu ostoyes la con-
iunctions et compaignie et be-
neuolence au monde ne pouvre

benevolentiae conjunctionem, nec

ioyned good will of thynges, and

domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit,

neyther hows ne cytee, ne tylthe

ne agri quidem cultus permanebit.

of lond shall remayne. (VII, 23.)

estre ferme aucune maison ne

autre cite et la labouraige

de la terre ne sera ia permanent

ne durable.

The two translations are not only independent, but are based on utterly distinct principles. De Premierfait's translation was made by a writer whose main idea of style was that no sentence was satisfactory without a triple series of balanced pairs of synonyms, for a royal prince with an amateur respect for letters but no discipline in attention. Every expression is amplified, every difficulty explained in parentheses. "Le livre de Vieillesse 'lequel dicta et escrivi le noble philosophe et prince de eloquence, Tulle, consul rommain, dedens la poitrine duquel philosophe naturelle et morale esleut son domicile,' est escrit 'en tres courtet latin,'" says de Premierfait, and hence he has expanded it "'en exposant par motz et par sentences' ce qui lui a semblé trop bref ou trop obscur." (Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises*, Paris, 1896-99, vol. II, p. 267.)

Tiptoft's version, on the other hand, is painfully close to his Latin; it is at the same time full of errors, is cramped and rigid, and shows little command of a free English style. It is a student's exercise in which the original is treated with timid respect, though without perfect knowledge, and is written in a language not yet master of its own possibilities, not yet made capable of reproducing the rounded periods and the flowing copiousness of Cicero.

The translation of Accursius, on the other hand, is tolerably easy and fluent. These two translations, from the French and the Latin, are all that we have from Tiptoft's hand, besides a few letters and official papers. In the great work of creating English prose two influences, the Latin and the French, were to be dominant. It is not uninteresting to find in the work of this first of English men of letters among lords both influences, which were to be exerted mainly through translations for a century: the one leading to a clear though elaborate syntactical regularity, the other to a simpler evolution of the sentence, and to a pleasant facile ease.

DENHAM'S SUPPOSED AUTHORSHIP OF *DIRECTIONS
TO A PAINTER*, 1667

These *Directions to a Painter* are of interest, not poetically, but historically. Being sharp satires on the conduct of the war with the Dutch, their value as historical documents is largely determined by a knowledge of their authorship, in order that the necessary allowances be made for prejudice, etc. They appeared under the name of Sir John Denham, but, as I hope to show, it is impossible that he should have written them.

Waller began the series of "Directions" by his poem, *Instructions to a Painter for the drawing of the posture and progress of His Maties forces at sea under command of his Highness Royal. Together with the battel and victory obtained over the Dutch, June 3, 1665*. This poem is a fulsome eulogy of the Duke of York.

Next came THE/ Second Advice/ TO A/ PAINTER,/ For Drawing the/ HISTORY/ Of our/ NAVALL Business;/ In Imitation of Mr. WALLER./ Being the last Work of Sir JOHN DENHAM./ Printed in the Year, 1667. This is a poem of 340 lines, beginning: "Nay Painter, if thou dar'st, design that fight". It satirizes the conduct of the Duke of York in the battle of Lowestoft, June 1665, which Waller had lauded, and the Earl of Sandwich's conduct before Bergen in August of the same year. It is possible that this is the poem referred to by Pepys, December 14, 1666 when he says: "And here I met with, sealed up, from Sir H. Cholmly, the lampoone, or the Mocke-Advice to a Painter, abusing the Duke of York and my Lord Sandwich, Pen, and the King himself, in all the matters of the navy and warr."

Next came THE/ Second, and Third Advice/ TO A/ PAINTER,/ For Drawing the/ HISTORY/ Of our/ NAVALL Actions,/ The two last Years, 1665 And 1666./ In Answer to Mr. WALLER./ (Motto)/ A. Breda, 1667. It consists of 1) a reprint of the Second Advice, "Nay Painter" etc., under the heading THE/ Second Advice/ TO A/ PAINTER,/ FOR/ Drawing the History of our/ NAVALL Bussiness;/ In Answer to Mr. WALLER., and 2) a poem of 428 lines, beginning: "Sandwich in Spain now, and the Duke in love", under the heading, THE/ Third Advice/ TO A/ PAINTER,/ On our last Summers Success,/ with French and Dutch./ 1666./ Written by

the same Hand as the former was. The subject of the *Third Advice* is the four day's battle of the Downs, June 1666.

Finally came DIRECTIONS/ TO A/ PAINTER/ FOR/ Describing our Naval Business:/ In Imitation of Mr. WALLER./ BEING/ The Last Works/ OF/ Sir JOHN DENHAM./ Whereunto is annexed,/ CLARINDONS House-Warming./ By an Unknown AUTHOR./ Printed in the Year 1667. This contains, 1) the *Second Advice*, "Nay Painter", 2) the *Third Advice*, "Sandwich in Spain now", and 3) two new sections: "Draw England ruined by what was giv'n before", which describes the ascent of the Thames by the Dutch, June 1667; and "Painter where wast thy former work did cease?", which treats of the events following the Treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667.

Considering the poems as a whole, we can find four arguments against Denham's authorship: (1) There has always been doubt of their authenticity. Wood says, "... to which directions, tho' Sir John Denham's name is set, yet they were thought by many to have been written by Andr. Marvell Esq."¹; and in the reprint of the *Directions* in *Poems on Affairs of State*, 1703, Vol. I, we find this note in the table of contents: "Said to be written by Sir John Denham, but believed to be writ by Mr. Milton."² (2) The events described in some of the poems fall within the period of Denham's insanity. This will be treated in greater detail below. (3) Evidence of style points to the conclusion that the poems are not Denham's work. (4) It seems incredible that Denham, holding the official position of Surveyor-General (or architect royal) and being a favorite at Charles's court, should have openly published under his own name poems attacking state policies and high officials, and even the King himself. It would, however, be very natural for some one else to shelter himself under Denham's well-known name. Nor could Denham have written the poems without intending to have them get into print; such a proceeding would have been not only dangerous, but pointless, as the very *raison d'être* of such political satires is publicity.

Considering the poems separately in their chronological order, we come first to the *Second Advice*. Stylistically, this might,

¹ *Athenae Oxoniensis*, II, 424 (1721 edition).

² This may be a reproduction of Wood's statement with the blunder of Milton for Marvell. Not even an eighteenth century editor could imagine that Milton wrote them.

perhaps, be Denham's; there are but three feminine rhymes; there are no full stops within the line; the proportion of open to closed couplets is only about one to ten; and the lines have a tendency toward antithesis which is more pronounced than in the other poems. It is, however, like the others, full of elisions (see the second quotation below) which are entirely uncharacteristic of Denham.

The first part, dealing with the battle of Lowestoft, is evidently written with Waller's poem in mind, which gives point to the couplet occurring near the end:

Now may historians argue con and pro;
Denham says thus, though always Waller so.

The appearance of Denham's name in the text might under other circumstances be considered evidence supporting his authorship, but here it seems merely put in as a blind.

Apart from style, there are two serious difficulties: (1) We do not know when Denham recovered from his fit of insanity. He was stricken in April 1666, and we hear no more of him until June 1667.³ How long during this interval his attack lasted, and how severe it was is unknown. It is true that the events described took place in the summer of 1665, but I imagine that the poem was not written much before its publication, for the reason given above, that work of this character finds its way early into print. In any event, if this is the first of three editions dated 1667, it must have been published fairly early in that year, and we may well hesitate to assign a poem to Denham when the last we have heard of him is that he thinks himself the Holy Ghost.⁴ (2) The poem continues, after the couplet quoted above, as follows:

And he good man, in his long sheet and staff,
This pennance did for Cromwel's epitaph;
And his next theam must be o' th' Duke's mistress,
Advice to draw Madam l'Edificatress.

The Duke of York's mistress was Lady Denham; the "Lady Builder" could refer to no one else, and Pepys in 1665 and 1666 has frequent references to the affair. Although Denham was, per-

³ *Wood's Life and Times* (Ed. Clark), II, 75; *Historical MS. Commission, Report 6*, p. 339; *Historical MS. Commission, Ormonde MS. New Series* (1904), III, 217; *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1667-8*, p. 20.

⁴ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, I, 219.

haps, a complaisant husband, it seems impossible that he should thus refer to his wife's infidelity.

We come next to the *Second and Third Advice*. This is probably the poem referred to by Pepys, January 20, 1666/7: "He did lend me 'The Third Advice to a Painter,' a bitter satyre upon the service of the Duke of Albermarle last year." It consists of a reprint of the *Second Advice*, and in addition the *Third Advice*, beginning, "Sandwich in Spain now and the Duke in love." I do not consider this poem Denham's for the following reasons: (1) The proportion of open to closed couplets is almost double that of the *Second Advice*, being about two to ten. (2) The naval battle that the poem described took place in June 1666, only two months after the violent outbreak of his insanity, so that the objections to the *Second Advice* on this ground apply with still greater force here. (3) The phrase "the Duke in love" refers to the intrigue of the Duke of York with Lady Denham.

Lastly we come to the *Directions to a Painter*. This contains the *Second* and the *Third Advice*, and two other poems in addition, dealing with the events of the summer of 1667: "Draw England ruin'd by what was giv'n before," and "Painter, where wast thy former work did cease?". My reasons for rejecting these poems are two: (1) their attacks on the King; (2) their style. In the first poem, the proportion of feminine rhymes is higher than in the *Second Advice*, and the ratio of open to closed couplets is almost four to ten; in the second, the difference is even more marked; there are thirteen feminine rhymes, at least twenty full stops within the line, and the ratio of open to closed couplets is about three to four.

To sum up: *The Second Advice*, judged merely by its style, might possibly be by Denham, though it has its uncharacteristic points, but his authorship is made very doubtful by (1) the fact that he may have been insane when the poem was written or published, and (2) the reference to his wife's infidelity with the Duke of York. *The Third Advice* has not so strong a stylistic argument in its favor, and is open to a still greater degree to the two objections given above. *The Directions* have none of the characteristics of Denham's mature style, and openly attack the King. Moreover, the tone of the whole series is that of an irresponsible free-lance critic, rather than a courtier and a dependent of the King.

THE PARDONER'S TALE: A MEDIAEVAL SERMON

Professor Kittredge analyzes the *Pardoner's Tale* as follows:

The whole tale, as it lies before us, is one of the Pardoner's sermons, consisting of text ("the love of money is the root of all evil"), brief introduction, illustrative anecdote (or *exemplum*), and application. The *exemplum* alone is narrative, and this is readily isolated.¹

My present aim is not to isolate the *exemplum*, but to regard the entire tale as a unit, and to examine it as a typical specimen of mediæval preaching. The examination is now made easy by Professor Caplan's recent translation, with commentary, of a mediæval tract on preaching,² from which in order to establish our principles of criticism, I quote the following passages:

The theme is the beginning of the sermon. In regard to it there are many considerations; first, that it is taken from the Bible; that it has a clearly perceived meaning—not incongruous; that it is not too long nor too short; that it is expressed in terms well-suited to preaching—in all its verbs, participles, and so forth.

Again, the theme is the prelocution, made for the proof of the terms of preaching present in the theme, through authoritative passages of the Bible and learned men, and by bringing in the authorities of philosophy through some simile, moral point, proverb, or natural truth.

Likewise what is said in the theme and its division is called the theme, since the division of the theme is the very theme itself; for from the theme the divisions proceed as from a root. That is why the division is called the theme.

Note that there are four parts of a sermon: the theme, the protheme or prelocution, the division or distinction, the subdivision or subdistinction.³

As the theme, prelocution, division, and subdivision of the theme now stand, the sermon is not yet complete unless some principal part is amplified through other materials, to wit, through adduced authorities. Otherwise the sermon becomes too short and simple. Therefore certain methods should be used through which the whole sermon is to be expanded as conveniently as possible.

The amplification of sermons is to be accomplished in nine ways: first, through agreements of authorities; second, through discussion of words; third, through the properties of things; fourth, through a mani-

¹ *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 21, Cambridge, 1915.

² *A Late Mediaeval Tractate on Preaching*, translated and edited by Harry Caplan; pp. 61-90 in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James A. Winans*, New York, 1925.

³ P. 74.

fold exposition or a variety of senses; fifth, through similies and natural truths; sixth, through marking of the opposite, to wit, correction; seventh, through comparisons; eighth, through interpretation of a name; ninth, through multiplication of synonyms.⁴

It will be seen that there is no mention of the *exemplum*, an omission that Professor Caplan calls "an interesting divergence from a favorite practice of thirteenth-century preachers, even among the Dominicans." In respect to the use made of the *exemplum*, I should like to quote the words of Professor T. F. Crane:

The foundation in the thirteenth century of the two great orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, the former, *par excellence* the *ordo praedicatorum*, gave an enormous impulse to preaching, and quite changed its character. The monks of these orders obeyed literally the words of the Founder of Christianity, and went into all the world and preached the Word to every creature. The popular character of the audiences modified essentially the style of the preaching. It was necessary to interest, and even amuse, the common people, who, as we have incidentally shown, were becoming accustomed to an entertaining literature more and more secular, and who possessed moreover an innate love for tales. It is chiefly to this fondness for stories, and to the preachers' desire to gratify it, that we owe the great collections of which we are about to speak. In the composition of the mediaeval sermon, which had, moreover, a certain fixed form, the stories, or to give them the name they then bore, and which we shall use hereafter, *exempla*, were reserved for the end, when the attention of the audience began to diminish. The value of these *exempla* for awakening the attention and instructing the people is everywhere conceded.⁵

This passage is of value, because it shows the wide use and popularity of the *exemplum*, from the thirteenth century onwards, and points out the fact that the story came at the end of the sermon.

Professor Caplan's *Tractate* concludes with three methods of preaching, of which we need consider only the last, as that is the one employed by the Pardoner.

First, the preacher should pronounce his theme in Latin in a low voice, then introduce one prayer in the vulgar tongue. . . . Now he should resume his theme, using the vulgar tongue for expression. And after this he can draw or elicit one prelocution through similies, moralizations, proverbs, or natural truths, or sometimes even by adducing definite authorities. Another name for the prelocution is the protheme, because

⁴ P. 76.

⁵ *Mediaeval Sermon-Books and Stories*, by T. F. Crane, read before the American Philosophical Society, March 16, 1883, pp. 54-55.

it is expressed before the division of the theme and the main substance of the sermon. . . . When the prelocution has been premised, resume the theme and its division. . . . When all the members, main and subordinate, have been discussed, the preacher can make a practical recapitulation of his sermon, so that if they have neglected the beginning, the people may know on what the sermon and its conclusions are based. . . . This method is the more common one among modern preachers and is as useful to intelligent preachers as to hearers.*

With the foregoing paragraphs in mind, we may now turn to our examination of the *Pardoner's Tale*, and see how faithfully it follows the principles therein set forth. The sermon begins in the approved manner, the Pardoner pronouncing in Latin his short theme taken from the Bible:

Therfor my theme is yet, and ever was—
'Radix malorum est cupiditas.'

The prayer that should follow the theme is absent, but there follows the speaker's own account of his preaching, in the course of which he says:

Than telle I hem ensamples many oon
Of olde stories, longe tyme agoon:
For lewed peple loven tales olde;
Swich thinges can they wel reporte and holde.

The theme having been pronounced, the Pardoner at once begins to tell his story, but his training in homiletics has not entirely been forgotten, and so he turns back to his prelocution in order to prove the terms of the theme. Thus it is that we have the short introductory discussion of drunkenness, gluttony, and swearing, as proof of the term *malorum*, and of *hasardrye*, or gambling, as proof of *cupiditas*. The prelocution is expanded in proper fashion, with the stories of Lot and his daughters, Herod and John the Baptist, from the Old and New Testaments, and with the authority of moral philosophy in a passage from Seneca. These three authorities prove the evil of drunkenness, while gluttony is proved with the story of Adam's fall by eating the apple, and with passages from St. Paul.

The evils are next proved "by marking the opposite," for the speaker adds:

But herkneþ, lordings, o word, I yow preye,
That alle the sovereyn actes, dar I seye,
Of victories in th' Olde Testament,

* Caplan, pp. 89-90.

Thurgh verray god, that is omnipotent,
Were doon in abstinence and in preyere;
Loketh the Bible, and ther ye may it lere.

Then follows the story of Attila, the conqueror, who died bleeding at the nose in drunkenness, and the command given to Lemuel.

The preacher now takes up *hasardrye*, and tells the stories of Stilbon, the wise ambassador, and the king of Parthes. These are both short *exempla*, rather than citations of authority. In proof of swearing, he cites passages from St. Matthew and Jeremiah, and the Third Commandment, as we now list it. Finishing thus his prelocution or protheme, which stands before the main substance of his sermon, he says:

But, sirs, now wol I telle forth my tale,

and again takes up the theme of which he has proved the terms. The *exemplum* comes, then, at the end of the sermon in the approved manner.

When the story of the three rioters is finished, and some perhaps have forgotten the beginning, or indeed have forgotten that they are listening to a sermon at all, the preacher (to adopt the words of the *Tractate*) "makes a practical recapitulation of his sermon, so that if they have neglected the beginning, the people may know on what the sermon and its conclusions are based":

O cursed sinne, ful of cursednesse!
O traytours homicyde, o wikkednesse!
O glotonye, luxurie, and hasardrye!
Thou blasphemour of Crist with vileinye
And othes grete, of usage and of pryde!
Allas! mankinde, how may it bityde,
That to thy Creatour which that thee wroghte,
And with his precious herte-blood thee boghte,
Thou art so fals and so unkinde, alas!

Having thus brought his sermon to a close, the Pardoner instantly drops the rôle of pious preacher, which he has assumed for the past half hour, and resumes the part of the rascal, offering for sale his worthless pardons. The foregoing study has not sought to prove the *Pardoner's Tale* a sermon—that has long been acknowledged; but it does seek to show the excellent structure of the tale as a whole, according to mediæval principles of preaching, and thus, perhaps, to evince Chaucer's knowledge of mediæval rhetoric.

TWO POEMS BY HENRY REYNOLDS

Though Henry Reynolds owes his little niche in literary history to his *Mythomystes* and his friendship with Drayton, he wrote some poems which make a modest claim on their own account and show that their author was not altogether unworthy to sit in the chimney corner and exchange verses with his poet-friend. In 1628 Reynolds published *Torquato Tasso's Aminta Englisht. To this is added Ariadne's Complaint in imitation of Anguillara*. The *Mythomystes*, to which was appended the *Tale of Narcissus*, was entered, and presumably printed, in 1632. Since the author says that the *Narcissus* he "had diuerse yeares since put into English," and since Drayton's *Epistle*, which alludes to many winter evenings spent in reciting their verses to each other, appeared in 1627, it has been thought probable that the pieces were written before 1627.

Our interest here is with *Ariadne's Complaint* and the *Tale of Narcissus*.¹ The former piece consists of thirty-eight stanzas of *ottava rima*. Ariadne awakens to find herself deserted and wanders about the shore complaining. Bacchus, sailing from India, comes, sees, and conquers, with the aid of Venus. The goddess gives Ariadne her crown, which finds a lasting abode in the sky. While Reynolds ostensibly writes "in imitation of Anguillara," the piece is really a paraphrase, sometimes close, sometimes free, of Anguillara's version in his 'translation' of the *Metamorphoses*.

A specimen stanza might be quoted:

When haplesse Ariadne, with the day
Opes her (yet drowzie) eyes; and first her head
Turnes on that side, where shee supposed lay
The treche'rous man that from her side is fled.
Her louing hand first this, then th'other way
She vaine extendes; in vaine about the bed
Her legg, and arme mooues; whence a cold feare takes her,
That startles eu'ry limbe, and broad awakes her.

¹ My quotations are from the first editions. The *Narcissus* was reprinted in 1905 by J. S. Starkey in *Eng. Studien*, xxxv, 260 ff., and separately in the Orinda Booklets (published by J. R. Tutin, Hull, 1906).

Quando Arianna misera fu sciolta
 Dal sonno che lo spirito avea legato,
 Nè del tutto ancor desta, il viso volta
 Dove crede trovar l'amante ingrato;
 Stende l'accesa man più d'una volta,
 Poi cerca in vano ancor dall' altro lato:
 In van per tutto i piè move e le braccia,
 Talchè 'l timor del tutto il sonno scaccia.²

Such a story is not, of course, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (except a brief allusion, viii, 174-82), and Anguillara apparently elaborated it mainly from Ariadne's epistle in the *Heroides* (x), adding the episode of Bacchus from the *Fasti* (iii, 459-516) and perhaps the *Ars Amatoria* (i, 527 ff.). The luscious manner had long been established in Italian verse before Anguillara wrote, along with the special cult of the mythological poem. There is, therefore, no need to call in Ariosto to account for Anguillara's style, yet some touches seem to be borrowed from the episode of Olimpia in the *Orlando*, itself an imitation of Ovid's epistle.³

As regards the source of his *Tale of Narcissus* Reynolds merely alludes to the story "which Ovid hath smoothly sung, and I paraphrastically Englisht after my owne way, and for my owne pleasure." "My owne way" proves to be Anguillara's way, for this piece also is a more or less free paraphrase of the Italian version—the freedom consisting mainly in abridgement.⁴ Reynolds' verse flows softly and smoothly in *ottava rima*:

Dentro un' ombrosa selva, a piè d'un monte,
 Dove verdeggia allo scoperto un prato,
 Sorge una chiara e cristallina fonte,
 Che confina alla linea di quel lato;
 Che quando equidistante all' Orizzonte
 Dell' Orto e dell' Occaso è il Sole alzato,
 L'ombrosa spalla del monte difende,
 Che il più cocente Sol mai non l'offende.

² Anguillara's *Metamorfosi* (Milan, 1805), Bk. viii, stanzas 105 ff., ii, 219 ff. Anguillara's version appeared in 1561.

³ One may note, for example, in the stanzas quoted above, the delicate suggestion of Ariadne's exploring the bed with her legs, which is a trifle homely in this context. (Cf. *Orlando Furioso*, c. x, st. 21). Ovid had a surer taste.

⁴ Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 341-510; Anguillara, Bk. iii, st. 136-198 (i, 174 ff.); Reynolds, *Eng. Stud.*, xxxv, 262-273. Thus Ovid has 169 lines, Anguillara 504, Reynolds 448.

Quel chiaro fonte è sì purgato e mondo,
 E l'acqua in modo è lucida e traspare,
 Che ciò, ch' egli ha nel suo più cupo fondo
 Scoperto a gli occhi altrui di sopra appare.
 Or mentre il Sol dà il maggior caldo al mondo
 Nel punto, ch'è principio al declinare,
 Amor menò costui per castigallo
 A questo puro e liquido cristallo. (p. 181).

Within a shady groue (under a hill)
 That opes into a meadow faire, and wide,
 Whose ample face a thousand py'ed floures fill,
 And many 'an odorous herbe, and plant beside,
 Rizeth a fountaine fresh and coole; for still
 The wood of one, and of the other side
 The shady shoulders, of the hill defende it,
 That the warme midday-sun cannot offende it.
 The water of this well is euer cleare,
 And of that wonderfull transparency,
 That his deepe bottome seemes to rise, and neere
 Offer itselſe to the behoulders eye.
 The hot Sun burnes the ground, and eu'ry where
 Shepherd and sheep to the coole shadowes fly;
 When loue, (to 'auenge himselſe) to this Fount guideth
 This louely buoy in whom no loue abideth.

(pp. 94-5 in ed. of 1632(?); *E. S.*, p. 267).

While the *Tale of Narcissus*, like the other piece, is not a colorless paraphrase, it is a paraphrase, and the fact—which, as regards the *Narcissus* at least I have not seen noted—takes a little from Reynolds' not very exalted reputation.

The *Tale of Narcissus* was appended to the *Mythomystes* avowedly as an illustration of the mystical theory of poetry set forth therein, and after the poem follow "Observations," which expound the geographical, physical, moral, and divine senses of the allegory in the thoroughly mediaeval manner of a seventeenth-century Platonist. The various meanings are as neatly catalogued as in the *Ovide Moralisé* and other monuments of the mania for allegorizing; indeed such a fable as that of Narcissus could hardly be allegorized in any but the traditional ways.⁵ In the divine

⁵ A good many interpretations of the story of Narcissus are conveniently assembled in W. E. Buckley's edition of the poems of Thomas Edwards (Roxburghe Club, 1882).

I might add that I have not observed in Reynolds' poems any obligations to the numerous earlier versions in English of the same themes.

sense, however, we have the "modern," with his appeal to Pythagoras, and "the most autentick *Iamblichus* the *Caldaean*," and "his other fellow-*Cabalists*,"—not to mention the host of mystical authorities cited in the *Mythomystes*.

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WILHELM MEISTERS LEHRJAHRE AND IMMENSEE

The editing and re-editing of Theodor Storm's *Immensee* has reached the point in this country where a special monograph might well be prepared on the significance of this superfluous activity. The latest edition and, all told, the best, of Professor Zeydel motivates this note, the pivotal idea of which has been on the writer's mind for years: Virtually the whole of *Immensee* is contained in the first twelve chapters of the first book of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, that is, in the first 35 pages of the Erich Schmidt edition of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* the total of which runs to 527 pages. Did Storm know his Goethe? One might as well ask whether he had ever heard of the Mayor of Husum or the Prime Minister of Denmark or the King of Prussia. Do we intimate here that Storm was a conscious imitator? Not at all; but his is seemingly a case of one of the most conscientious imitations known to German literature.

Anyone who has ever read *Wilhelm Meister* carefully can hardly fail to be struck by the way the novel begins. With the possible exception of the remarks concerning the puppet plays, the action moves with a rapidity that is rather unlike Goethe. Then comes all of a sudden the thirteenth chapter with the introduction of Melina. That is hold-up No. 1. There is many another before the close of the novel. There are echoes too of *Immensee* all through *Wilhelm Meister*. Storm's *Zithermädchen* is merely Mignon, and the inability of Goethe's character to write well after he had put on his cuffs is merely an anticipation of Reinhard, though the latter somehow manages to manipulate his pen after adjusting his. But we are interested here in *Immensee* as it stands and in

the same number, approximately, of words in the beginning of *Wilhelm Meister*, for we are not contending that Storm did in 35 pages what Goethe did in twenty-times as much space. Nor are we asserting that in details, either of fact or spiritual situations, the same can be found. Quite the contrary. Storm shifts decidedly: In *Wilhelm Meister*, by way of unimportant illustration, one person prepares a Christmas package for two; in *Immensee* two persons prepare a Christmas package for one.

In the two works we have these pairs of characters: Wilhelm—Reinhard, Norberg—Erich, Marianne—Elisabeth, Die alte Barbara—Erichs Mutter. In some ways there is a world of difference. Norberg and Erich are poles removed from each other. Moreover, *Immensee* has no Werner, though that is the family name of Reinhard. But the contention is not being made that Storm was only a copyist, an abridger. External or technical changes were necessary, inevitable. Storms' frame-setting is one of these, but it is not of great significance.

As to individual similarities we note the following, taking our clue from *Wilhelm Meister* and assuming that everyone knows *Immensee*, by this time, by heart: The separation of the real lovers thus giving the man of means a chance; the brightly lighted Christmas tree; the overworking of the word *Freund*; *Der Brief*; the leaving of the real lovers together, Goethe giving them much more of a chance than Storm does; significance of *die erste Liebe*; *Unterhaltung*, theatre in one case, botany in another; how "she" appeared to "him" for the first impression, as an actress in one case, out in the woods as *Waldeskönigin* in another; the basement restaurant out of which the guests in both cases *heraustaumeln* after having drunk the champagne; the lateness of the gift: Wilhelm gives *die Alte* a louis d'or with instructions to buy something, Reinhard goes out late at night to make his own purchases; the poetry in both works of calling up the past and noting the difference between what *wir sind* and what *wir waren*; the motif of *Üerraschung*; learning of poems and reciting them of an evening to the parents; father conceals his good intentions to the children, Goethe in a rather pedantic and biographic manner, Storm in a much lighter way, through the strawberry and dessert episode; parties of children; the sense of smell, puppets in *Wilhelm Meister*

and the package in the room in *Immensee*, both from cakes; dissatisfaction on the part of the girl with the story the boy tells; trying to get back the lost love of childhood days; increasing of the child vision with future prospects and determinations; arranging and looking through of private papers; inability of Werner to see why on earth Wilhelm takes an interest in these things, just as Erich cannot appreciate Reinhard's poems or his visit to the lily and the lake; beginning a thing and never finishing it; pictures of commercial progress and industrial prosperity; the meeting of the lovers on the steps; inability of the girl to decide which one it shall be and the help given by an older woman; and, finally, the determination on the part of the practical-minded Barbara that no charge of hers shall throw her life away on a man like Wilhelm, however attractive he may be, in view of the dubious profession he is entering upon when a man of means and business prospects is in the offing.

Analogies of this sort are to be found also beyond the first 35 pages of *Wilhelm Meister*; we think of the motif of the *Halstuch* in both works. It would require much incautious audacity, however, to attach cardinal importance to these similarities if they stood alone; if they were the only parallels available for an argument. But that is not the case: there is also the motif of absentee-love. Marianne tries to fancy what might happen if Norberg were to return during Wilhelm's absence. *Die Alte* says: *Wer wehrt dir, in den Armen des einen an den andern zu denken?* The answer is of course "no one." It is a theme of very great possibilities. Goethe exploited it with almost fatal perfection in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*. Arthur Symonds has made abundant use of it, particularly in his *Amoris Victima*. In Norway Johann Bojer has made full and frequent use of it. And that is really one of the outstanding features of Storm's story. Reinhard read his poem:

*Was sonst in Ehren stünde,
Nun ist es worden Sünde.*

That is, it was once quite right, even sacred, for Elisabeth to love Reinhard; now however she is Erich's wife, and her love for Reinhard, absentee-love, is a sin. After the reading of this poem, Reinhard went out and down to the lake. What happened to him

there, as recorded in the chapter entitled *Meine Mutter hat's gewollt*, is known.

At the thought of separation from Marianne, with Norberg or some one else still around, Goethe's Wilhelm had this dream:

Mir träumte, ich befände mich, entfernt von dir, in einer unbekannten Gegend; aber dein Bild schwebte mir vor; ich sah dich auf einem schönen Hügel, die Sonne beschien den ganzen Platz, wie reizend kamst du mir vor! Aber es währte nicht lange, so sah ich dein Bild hinuntergleiten, immer hinuntergleiten, ich streckte meine Arme nach dir aus, sie reichten nicht durch die Ferne. Immer sank dein Bild und näherte sich einem grossen See, der am Fusse des Hügels weit ausgebreitet lag, eher ein Sumpf als ein See. Auf einmal gab dir ein Mann die Hand, er schien dich hinauf-führen zu wollen, aber leitete dich seitwärts und schien dich nach sich zu ziehen. Ich rief, da ich dich nicht erreichen konnte, ich hoffte dich zu warnen. Wollte ich gehen, so schien der Boden mich festzuhalten; konnt' ich gehen, so hinderte mich das Wasser, und sogar mein Schreien erstickte in der beklemmten Brust.

This dream seems to justify the thesis laid down in the opening paragraph of this paper. Professor Zeydel has attempted to justify his edition of *Immensee* on textual grounds. Such differences in the original and the copy as he has assembled constitute material for a purely philological study; for still another edition of *Immensee* they are insufficient argument.

Immensee, however, has been overread in the American college not merely because it has been over-edited: it has also been over-praised, for the thin little tale goes back to an immeasurably greater work.

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WILL KEMP AND THE *COMMEDIA DELL' ARTE*

In a recent study Professor O. J. Campbell calls attention to Shakespeare's indebtedness to the *commedia dell' arte* in *Love's Labor's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.¹ Although there

¹ Campbell, O. J., "Love's Labor's Lost Re-studied" and "The Two Gentlemen of Verona and Italian Comedy." *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, University of Michigan Publications (New York, 1925).

is danger of seeing *commedia dell' arte* where only native English comedy exists, Professor Campbell's assertions seem sane and reasonable; he shows pertinently that the Lylian influence on the low comedy elements in Shakespeare's early plays has been over-emphasized, and that much of this clownery seems to come from Italian comedy. One piece of evidence that Professor Campbell neglects, however, in showing *commedia dell' arte* influence on Shakespeare is the fact that English actors, particularly clowns, probably learned much from Italian comedians who acted in England and whom they met abroad. My purpose here is to point out that Will Kemp, most famous of Shakespearean clowns, came under the influence of *commedia dell' arte* clowns and probably added *commedia dell' arte* tricks to his repertoire of native clownery.

Kemp is known to have been a traveller; he is believed to have been on the continent with Leicester's players in 1586;² there he would undoubtedly have come in contact with Italian players who haunted the courts of Europe at this time. In fact, many of the performances given by the English comedians in Germany strongly resemble *commedia dell' arte* performances and perhaps were influenced by the Italian players.³ Certainly about 1600 Kemp not only visited Germany but also spent some time in Italy, particularly in Rome.⁴

Previous to 1590, Kemp's clownery seems to have already attracted the attention of Italian comedians, who recognized in him a master of the type of clown-play which they themselves had perfected, if we may trust a statement made by Nash (?) in a pamphlet, "An Almond for a Parrat" (1590). The author, who had

² Chambers, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, 325.

³ See introduction to Cohn, Albert, *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865).

⁴ *D. N. B.*, xxx, 390 ff., cites an old ballad, "An excellent new Medley" (c. 1600) which refers to Kemp's return from Rome. Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 326, quotes an extract from the diary of William Smith of Abingdon, in *Sloane MS.* 414, f. 56; "Sep. 2 (1601). Kemp, mimus quidam, qui peregrinationem quandam in Germaniam et Italiam instituerat, post multos errores, et infortunita sua, reversus: multa refert de Anthonio Sherley, equite aurato, quem Romae (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat." The reference to Kemp's trip "over the Alps" in the *Return from Parnassus* is well known.

met Italian *commedia dell' arte* players on his travels, says that one of the players, "amongst other talks,"

inquired of me if I knew any such Parabolano here as Signor Chiarlano Kempio. Very well (quoth I) . . . He hearing me say so, began to embrace me anew, and offered me all the courtesie he colde for his sake, saying that altho' he knew him not, yet for the report he had heard of his Plesance, he colde not but bee in love with his perfections being absent.⁵

Another significant piece of evidence that Kemp was versed in *commedia dell' arte* technique appears in *The Travailes of the three English Brothers* (1607), by John Day and others.⁶ Here a player designated as Kemp acts with an Italian Harlequin⁷ in a typical *commedia dell' arte* skit that has no organic relation to anything else in the play. The dialogue near the opening of this scene is worth noting:

Enter Seruant

Ser. Sir, heres an Italian Harlaken come to offer a play to your Lord-ship.

Sir Ant. We will willingly accept it. Heark, Kempe;
Because I like thy iesture and thy mirth
Let me request thee play a part with them.

Kemp. I am somewhat hard of study, and like your honor;
but if they will inuent any extemporall merriment
ile put out the small sacke of witte I ha' left,
in venture with them.

Sir Ant. They shall not deny't: Signor Harlaken he is content:
I pray thee question him—

(Whisper.

Kemp. Now, Signor, how many are you in companie?

Harl. None but my wife and my selfe, sir. Etc.

Note that Kemp insists on acting extempore after the usual manner of *commedia dell' arte*, evidently Kemp's ordinary preference in acting.⁸

⁵ Smith, Winifred, *The Commedia Dell' Arte* (New York, 1912), 171.

⁶ Miss Smith failed to mention this striking example of a knowledge of *commedia dell' arte* by an English dramatist, though she does say of John Day, p. 179: "Day also had evidently seen some zanni act, for a page in *Ile of Gulls* (II, 3) says, 'I, like Harlakene in an Italian comedy, stand making faces at both their follies.'"

⁷ Bullen, A. H. (ed.), *The Works of John Day* (London, 1881), II, 55-59; (the play has no act or scene division).

⁸ Before Kemp, Tarlton had been famous for his extemporal acting, but

The characters which Kemp and Harlequin cast for their performance are the typical *commedia dell' arte* figures, the "olde Pantaloune," the faithless wife, the cuckold husband, the cuckold-ing servant, the "Magnifico that must take vp the matter betwixt me and my wife," etc. Throughout the dialogue, the dramatist makes Kemp seem as familiar with the characteristic rôles as Harlequin; certainly the English author of the scene was thoroughly familiar with *commedia dell' arte* performances, such as Kemp must have frequently seen and imitated. Whether Kemp actually played the rôle which bears his name in this play is uncertain, but evidently he was at least being presented in a characteristic pose.⁹

In an earlier play, *A Knacke to Knowe a Knaue* (pr. 1594 but acted by Strange's men in 1592 and several times in 1593), Kemp appears in a comic scene that must have borne *commedia dell' arte* characteristics. Promise is given on the title page of "Kemps applauded Merrimentes of the men of Goteham, in receiuing the King into Goteham"; yet the text of the play devotes only a scant page and a half to the inane comments of the "mad men of Goteham" before the king.¹⁰ Without doubt, the bulk of the clownery was omitted in the printed version, or left for the improvisation of Kemp and his clowns.

The two rôles in Shakespeare's plays which have been definitely assigned to Kemp are those of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet* and Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*. Both parts have characteristics of the *commedia dell' arte*, in addition to the features typical of English clownery. It is not my contention that Kemp was a mere imitator of Italian clown parts, but that he was familiar with their methods and adapted the technique to his own use; certainly so astute an actor as he was undoubtedly would not have come in contact with this widely popular form of clownery without

Tarlton's extemporizing consisted mostly of retorts and comic word-play rather than extemporal acting in a definitely cast plot, such as Kemp and Harlequin discuss in this scene.

* The date of Kemp's retirement from the stage is obscure; he is mentioned as dead or retired in Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook* (1609), and as dead by Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1608)—Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 327. The scene in this play is likely a version of Kemp's usual method of acting.

¹⁰ Sig. F. i verso ff.

appropriating its usable features; it is impossible that Kemp did not witness *commedia dell' arte* performances.

If we accept Chambers's tentative dating of *Love Labor's Lost* at 1594, *Romeo and Juliet* at 1594-5, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* at 1595, and *Much Ado About Nothing* at 1598, it is probable that Kemp acted the parts of Costard and Launce in addition to those of Peter and Dogberry. The tricks Launce plays with his shoes and clothes in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are typical, we know, of Kemp's performances; they are also stock *commedia dell' arte* tricks.¹¹ Professor Campbell has shown strong *commedia dell' arte* characteristics in *Love's Labor's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Similar characteristics are apparent in the clown parts of Peter and Dogberry in *Romeo and Juliet* and in *Much Ado About Nothing*. My conjecture is that Shakespeare was taking advantage of the repertoire, improved "after the manner of Italy," of one of the best clowns of the Elizabethan period, one Will Kemp. To Kemp the technique of the *commedia dell' arte* presented a fruitful means of amplifying his talents as a clown.

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WOLFRAM'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE CRESTIEN MSS.

In *MLN.*, April 1926, Professor A. C. L. Brown pointed out the absolute necessity of getting access to all MSS. of *Perceval*. The students of *Crestien* hitherto had to base their knowledge upon two printed MSS., "in spite of their being aware that other MSS. diverge somewhat widely." In the course of a study on Wolfram and *Crestien* (*JEGPh.*, Oct. 1925) I compared these two MSS. and found that they, too, diverge considerably, mostly in expression, less in contents. So far it has gone unnoticed that the Mons MS. stands closer to Wolfram's *Parzival* than MS. Paris 794.

¹¹ Act 2, Sc. 3. Cf. Creizenach, Wilhelm, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (London and Philadelphia, 1916), 302-303. In Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour*, iv, v, occurs the remark, "Would I had Kemp's shoes to throw after you."

The most striking case I find in the passage

W. 351, 26	al ir porten wârn vermûret
Potvin 6276	Bien furent les portes murées

which reads in Baist's version

4860	Bien furent les portes fermées
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Another striking parallel between Wolfram and Crestien:

W. 108, 12	sîn pris gap sô hôhen ruc,
P. 1610	N'ot chevalier de si haut pris,

disappears with Baist's text

396	N'ot chevalier de vostre pris.
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Where *Gawain* conquers the *Magic Castle* Mons reads:

P. 9202	Et par les fenestres volèrent Quariel et sajaïtes argans, S'en férèrent plus de -V-cens Monsignor Gauwain en l'escu;
cf. W. 568, 21	fünf hundert stableslingen mit listeclichen dingen zem swanke wârn bereite.

MS. Paris 794 omits the numeral and substitutes

7793	Si an ferirent ne sai quanz
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There exists a most peculiar parallel where *Gawain* passes the *Dangerous Ford*. I ascribe it to a misunderstanding of the French text by Wolfram. (On similar misunderstandings see Heinzel, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, 1894 and Lichtenstein, *PBB.* xxii, 57.)

W. 602, 26	sin sper dâ bî im swebete: daz begreif der wigant. er steic hîn ûf ane'z lant.
P. 9890	Si se lance si que il saut Sor la rive qui moult fu haut;

Baist's MS. reads:

8483	Si bien s'afiche que il saute Sor la rive qui molt fu haute.
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In the case of two parallels pointed out by Bartsch, the Mons MS., to my mind, stands closer to Wolfram although it is not so obvious. In the passages

W. 340, 7

Gawân dâhte swer verzaget
sô daz er vliuhet ê man'n jaget

P. 4987

Por quel paor, por quel manace,
Je fuirai, quant nus ne me cace.

the dependent constructions are very much alike. Baist reads differently:

3775

Por quel peor, por quel menace
Je fuie e nus hom ne me chace.

A direct translation is likely in

W. 364, 24

dâ mac niht arges ûz geschehen.

from P. 6644

Par foi, ce ne me doit pas nuire,

Baist reads 5228

Ce ne me doit grever ne nuire.

It is also interesting to compare the equivalents of Wolfram's names in the two French editions. Most of them, of course, are identical. For many years I considered a number of Bartsch's explanations of Wolfram's names as too far-fetched, but after an acquaintance with the German poet that extends over a quarter of a century, during which period of time the explanation of these names has not advanced nearer to solution, I am inclined to agree with Bartsch more readily.

Jeschûte W. 130, 2 may have originated from

P. 1864

El lit, toute seule, gisoit
Une damoiseiële endormie,

B. 650

El lit tote sole gisoit
Une dameisele andormie

Schaut W. 345, 14 finds his explanation in

P. 6218 B. 4803

Oil, sire, se dex me saut
Ses pères ama moult Tiébaut

Vergulaht W. 410, 13 in

P. 7407 B. 5991

Li sires ki herbegié l'ot.

Less convincing to me are the etymologies of *Scherules* (Bartsch II, p. 27); *Schanpfanzun* (II, 72); *Antikonie* (II, 75). This last name is explained by Singer, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, 1916.

In four cases I find that Bartsch's etymology can only be based on Potvin's text, whereas Baist's text reads differently.

W. 152, 23

der verswigene Antanor,
der durch swigen dâhte ein tor,

according to Bartsch (II, 163) goes back to

P. 2246 En son retor trova -I-sot,

The name could not be developed from

B. 1032 An sa voie trova un sot

W. 190, 9 Dô sprach ir vetere Kÿôt

is obtained by Bartsch from

P. 3103 C'uns miens oncles qui est pious

whereas Baist reads

1887 . . . oncles molt glorieus

It sounds reasonable that

W. 277, 4 Jofreit, fiz Idæl,

originated from

P. 6099 Giflès, li fuis Do,

Baist reads 4683 Giuflez li filz Nut

W. 348, 16 li schahteliur de Bèaveys

may be P. 6206 *Teudavès* (Bartsch II, 13) but hardly Baist's 4790 *Traez d'Anez*.

I realize that it would be a hopeless task to try to establish the family of the French MS. used by Wolfram, as long as all the French MSS. have not been made available in print, but these remarks may point the way to further investigations, as suggested by the late Professor Foerster, in his *Kristianwörterbuch*, p. 202, Anm.

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TITUS AND VESPASIAN

Mr. E. K. Chambers is not the first scholar,—not even the first good one—to state with confidence that the *Titus and Vespacia* of Henslowe's Diary¹ was a source for *Titus Andronicus*, but he is,

¹ Henslowe's Diary, ed. W. W. Gregg, 1904, pp. 14-16.

"In the name of God, Amen, 1591. Beginge the 19 of febreary, my

perhaps, the most recent one to make the assumption and to state further, as if proved, that this *Titus and Vespacia* was actually the original form of *Titus Andronicus*.² His statement is as follows:³ " . . . Strange's may have handed over *Titus Andronicus* in its earlier form of *Titus and Vespasian* to Pembroke's for the travels of 1593 . . .," and one supposes, though it is not so stated, that he has in mind, as a proof, such work as that of Mr. Harold de W. Fuller⁴ and Professor George P. Baker,⁵—for the earlier advertisements of this hypothesis were not accompanied by any attempt at proof. Clearly, this is an important peg, for on it hangs not only a source problem of really great interest,—considering the nature of the play—but also many less tidy rags of evidence for connecting the play of *Titus Andronicus* and its author with the company of the Lord Strange which was acting in Henslowe's theatre during these years, 1591-1593; but when one begins to look for proof of this assumption, one is astonished

Lord Stranges meme, a followeth." . . . and there follows an entry for "tittus and vespacia" which he marks *ne* on April 11. 1591 and for which, on this first performance, he received *iiij s*. Nine days later it was given again, and this time he received *lvj s*, showing that it had been successfully advertised by the first pleased audience. In the spring of 1592 it was played again 5 times, always with good returns. Scholars seem to agree that the same play is referred to in a series of entries for 1593, though here it is called simply "tittus" (spelled variously) and the name of the company acting the play is not given. The reason for thinking that this entry refers to *Titus and Vespasian* and not to *Titus Andronicus* is that in the same year and the same month a play called "titus and ondronicus" is entered as *ne*, and this play was given by the Earl of Sussex's men. Like the first *Titus* play, its financial history began with a humble *viiij s* for the first performance, but within five days, when a second was given, Henslowe records a return of *xxxxx s*.

²The suggestion may have come originally from Albert Cohn in his *Shakespeare in Germany*.

³E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, vol. II, p. 129. Mr. Chambers also alludes to this problem in a more recent article for *The Library*, March, 1925. Thus,—"*Titus Andronicus* seems to have been played in some form by Sussex's men in Jan. 1594, if not also by Strange's men in April, 1592."

⁴Harold de W. Fuller, *Sources of Titus Andronicus*, *P. M. L. A.*, 1901, pp. 1-65.

⁵George P. Baker, "*Titus and Vespasia*" and "*Titus and ondronicus*" in Henslowe's Diary. *P. M. L. A.*, 1901, pp. 66-76.

to find that it doesn't exist. One is even tempted to declare in haste that there is not so much as a shred of evidence for it, but there one would be wrong. There is a shred, just one,—or perhaps one should say that it is merely a stray cobweb, and no shred at all. The facts are very simple,—at least as far as *Titus and Vespasian* is concerned. The actual play mentioned by Henslowe as acted in his theatre by the Strange's Company, is lost; so there is neither help, nor hindrance to any hypothesis from that source; but the story of Titus and Vespasian is known,—or could be—to any amateur of medieval literature. As Mr. J. A. Herbert points out in his edition of the fifteenth century poem on the subject,⁶ it was extremely popular, both because of its connection with the Gospel story, and because the subject matter lent itself easily to the legendary accumulations and gory elaborations so dear to the medieval story-maker. The summary of the story given here is quoted from the introduction to Mr. Herbert's edition of the poem.

The poem which is printed here for the first time begins with the introductory passage treating of the ministry, passion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the subsequent events, actual or legendary, in Jerusalem. It then proceeds to tell how Nathan was sent by Pilate to deprecate the Emperor's wrath; how a contrary wind took him instead to Bordeaux in Gascony, where Vespasian was then King under the Emperor Nero; how his report of the miracles of Christ led to the mission of Vespasian's steward Velosian to Jerusalem, from whence he returned with Veronica; how Vespasian was cured of leprosy, and of a plague of wasps in his nose, by gazing on Veronica's miraculous portrait of the Saviour; and how in gratitude he vowed revenge on the murderers of Christ. The second half of the poem narrates the fulfilment of this vow by the seven years' siege and capture of Jerusalem, and by the merciless treatment dealt out to its defenders.

Titus, the son of Vespasian, figures largely in this second part as the leader during this long siege.

It will be clear that the story of *Titus and Vespasian* has nothing whatsoever in common with *Titus Andronicus* except the name *Titus* occurring in both titles, but that it offered a very likely subject for a play of the early nineties, since it abounded in matter of cruelty and slaughter such as that which went to make up the machinery of the tragedy-of-blood type so popular as this very date.

⁶ J. A. Herbert, ed. of *Titus & Vespasian, or the Destruction of Jerusalem* (in rhymed couplets) printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1905.

But the shred is a little stronger than the coincidence of the names of Titus in the two plays, though even this has been considered by some as a reason for connecting them. It is well known that companies of English actors went over to Germany from time to time, and there acted, partly in English and partly in German, many very miserable adaptations of current English plays. Among many such garbled versions which have come down to us, there is one particularly outrageous perpetration purporting to be *Titus Andronicus*. It is entitled "Eine sehr klägliche Tragoedia von Tito Andronico and der hoffertigen Kayserin, darinnen denkwürdige actiones zubefinden," and is dated 1620. The tastelessness, the vulgarity, and lack of any guiding hand at all seem sufficient proof that these plays were the productions of inferior actors. Sometimes it would seem, as in the case of Hamlet, that they worked from some kind of ms.; at other times that the productions were mere pot-pies of someone's bad memory and worse imagination. This,—to judge from Mr. Fuller's statement⁸ that not one single line of *Titus Andronicus* as we now know it appears in the German *Titus Andronicus*—would seem to have been the case with the continental version of this play. It is not any particular wonder that such men should have made the simple mistake of thinking that if,—as they recalled in a popular play that they had seen at the Rose—the important male relative of Titus in that play was Vespasian, why would not the name of Vespasian do for the son of Titus Andronicus, particularly if they couldn't remember the correct name? Accordingly, the name of Vespasian has gone down in the *Dramatis Personae* of the German version of *Titus Andronicus*,⁹ but this is all there is to connect the plays of

⁷ For bibliography of these Continental plays, see Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, vp, II, pp. 270-271.

⁸ Fuller, *Sources of Titus Andronicus*.

⁹ A glance at the following *Dramatis Personae* from the German version will show that they didn't remember any of the names except Titus Andronicus.

The Roman Emperor.

Consort of Andronica.

Victoriades, a brother to Titus.

Titus Andronicus.

Vespasian, Son to Titus.

Heliates and Saphonus, sons to Ætiopissa.

Titus Andronicus and *Titus Vespasian*, and it, obviously, is no connection at all.¹⁰

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QUEEN ELIZABETH AND BENEDICK'S "PARTRIDGE WING."

In the second act of *Much Ado About Nothing* Beatrice jokingly comments upon Benedick's manly appetite—his hunger for good red meat. My purpose here is to note that thereby Beatrice comes delightfully close to echoing a pleasantry directed by no less a personage than Queen Elizabeth against the great Lord Leicester. Elizabeth's little joke is recounted in Mr. Frederick Chamberlin's fascinating new volume, *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth* (1923 pp. 35-37).

Beatrice must be heard first. It is the masque scene, and Benedick has refused to admit that he is the Benedick who has dubbed Beatrice 'My Lady Disdain.' This Benedick, she tells her masqued cavalier, is the prince's jester—a very dull fool! She wishes that she might have been able to tell him as much to his face. The masqued cavalier somewhat ruefully offers to convey the message (to himself), and this offer Beatrice gaily accepts. And thereby hangs the joke anent Benedick's appetite. "Do, do," she says,—

"He'll but break a comparison or two on me: which, peradventure not marked or not laughed at, strikes him into melancholy; and then there's a partridge wing saved, for the fool will eat no supper that night."

Morian, a Moor, beloved by Ætiopissa.

Messenger, while guards.

Ætiopissa, Queen of Ethiopia.

Andronica, daughter to Titus.

Midwife, and a black child.

¹⁰ I attempted to make a short summary of the action of the German *Titus* to make it as clear as possible that there was absolutely no connection in subject matter between this play and *Titus and Vespasian*, but the episodes were so disconnected and contradictory that the task seemed hopeless for a small space; I therefore refer the reader to the full summary of the play by acts placed in parallel columns with the Dutch and English versions in the article by Fuller.

¹ *Much Ado*, II, I, 151-155.

Queen Elizabeth's winged word to the same purpose appears in a letter² addressed by her to the Countess of Shrewsbury, who had entertained Leicester "when he went to the baths of Buxton for treatment for the gout." It is, says Chamberlin, one of the best extant specimens of Elizabeth's "lighter style," and he adds that to get its full flavor one must bear in mind the fact that Leicester was "an extremely hearty eater and drinker."

The Queen begins by thanking her right trusty cousin, the Countess, for her entertainment of Leicester,—especially for the liberal "diet" which had been provided for him. She considers that this good service has been done not "unto him, but to our own self," and she therefore means "to take upon us the debt and to acknowledge you . . . our creditors, so as you can be content to accept us for debtor." But this might grow to be a dangerous debt if the Countess indulged Leicester too much! Therefore she must "cut off some part of the large allowance of diet you give him, lest otherwise the debt thereby may grow to be so great as we shall not be able to discharge the same, and so become bankrupt." For the saving of her credit, therefore, the Queen prescribes "a proportion of diet which we mean in no case you shall exceed, and that is to allow him by the day for his meat two ounces of flesh . . . and for his drink the twentieth part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St. Anne's sacred water as he listeth to drink. On festival days, as is meet for a man of his quality, we can be content you shall enlarge his diet *by allowing unto him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren,*" and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary ounces."

It is a bit anti-climactic to turn, after this, to the commentators' meditations upon Benedick's partridge wing. Indeed, a glance at the Variorum⁴ suggests that good Queen Bess's shoulder of a wren would have been a choice morsel for the commentators, and that (not to crack the wind of the poor phrase!) it might have helped to clear the air.

In the first place, Elizabeth's joke would seem to indicate that Halliwell's contribution to the subject is not especially in point.

² Chamberlin gives no date.

³ My italics.

⁴ Furness, *Much Ado*, p. 74.

That "the wing seems to have been formerly considered the most delicate part of the bird" is a conclusion which nobody would wish to deny; but it is surely not a matter of consequence here. Deighton saw this, and came nearer to putting the thing to rights. "The jest," he says, "turns not upon the saving of the best part of the bird, but upon the effeminacy of Benedick's appetite, for whose supper such a trifle was sufficient." If Deighton had put it the other way about, he might have avoided trouble, for it would seem that other commentators took him seriously, or literally. The jest turns, of course, upon the *hugeness* of Benedick's appetite. For, as Wright observed, Beatrice had previously described Benedick as "a very valiant trencher-man," one who "hath an excellent stomach,"⁵ and such an one would not have been likely to make a supper off a partridge wing! Wright's idea, then, would seem to be that in eating a partridge wing "Benedick . . . would eat what he would call no supper." Furness, who has the last word, may have been troubled by the apparent suggestion that this would have been a case of eating the wing and saving it too! "Nevertheless," he writes, "I am inclined to doubt that there is any hidden meaning in the words." Then follows a sentence in which Furness seems almost to have foreseen that Beatrice's mind and Queen Elizabeth's ran along the same line. "The jest," he says, "would have been equally pungent had Beatrice specified any other delicacy." But the point is not as Furness finally puts it, "that Benedick's appetite would be utterly gone." It is this:—Benedick, like Leicester, had so robustious an appetite that his abstemious lady laughingly suggests an allowance of diet such as Oberon might have fancied, but not Benedick or Leicester. When Benedick grows melancholy because no one will laugh at the jokes he has cracked about Beatrice—why then the valiant trencher-man won't eat his supper, and thereby, forsooth, a whole partridge wing will have been saved! And poor Benedick, unlike Leicester, would have had not even the twentieth part of a pint of wine nor yet a swallow of St. Anne's sacred water to comfort his stomach!

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⁵I, I, 51-52.

THE HOME OF THE *LUDUS COVENTRIAE*

In support of his contention that the Hegge Plays (*Ludus Coventriae*), or part of them, had a home or period of residence at Lincoln, Professor Hardin Craig adduces as his chief evidence two allusions to stage properties: "a fyrmament with a fiery clowde and a duble clowde,"¹ which may very plausibly have been employed in the Hegge Assumption play; and, secondly, the notice that every Lincoln alderman is to make a gown for the kings in the pageant on St. Anne's Day."² Of the latter item Professor Craig notes: "This has been supposed to refer to the Three Kings of Cologne in the Magi play; but there were only three of the magi, and there must have been more than three aldermen. The Hegge Prophet play calls for no less than thirteen kings, and is, moreover, unique among prophet plays."³

I venture here to propose a third item which may apply with equal precision to the Hegge Plays, in support of the Lincoln hypothesis: from the Treasurer's Inventory of 1536, in the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary:⁴

Item a Rede coope called the Rutte of Jesse of Rede velvett browdered wt Imagies of gold sett wt roses of perles wt a presyouse orfrey. havynge a morse of clothe of gold wt vj stones wantyng other vj havynge a hede sett yn gold the wyche hede hath now one stoñ.

The importance of a reference to this garment is manifest only when we recall that in the unique Hegge Prophet play there is a definite characterization of the "Root of Jesse." Unlike the corresponding plays of the other extant cycles, this play is a fusion of the Continental *Radix Jesse* play with the conventional English *Prophetæ*. In his study of this particular play Mr. J. K. Bonnell notes:⁵ "The seventh play in the Hegge collection of English

¹ From *Hist. MSS. Commission, 14th Report, App., Part VIII, p. 57.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 29. Craig's discussions appear in the *Athenaeum*, Aug. 16, 1913, and in a note appended to Miss Swenson's *Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae* (Univ. of Minnesota Studies, No. 1).

³ Note to Swenson article, p. 76.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, LIII (1892), p. 24.

⁵ *Source in Art of the . . . Prophets' Play*: P. M. L. A. 29 (1914), 327 ff.

mystery plays is unique . . . Whatever its superficial likeness to the liturgical *Processus Prophetarum*, and other prophet plays, it is my conviction that this single English play is directly influenced by—indeed, largely derived from—that pictorial representation of the genealogy of Christ which is known in art as the *Tree of Jesse*, *Stirps Jesse*, or *Radix Jesse*.” After a discussion of the liturgical basis of the device, and its place in art, he continues: “There seems to be no ascertainable source for the play as a play of the *Tree*, or *Root*, of *Jesse*, save in art. . . .”

Here, then, in the Hegge cycle is a unique type of play, and the creation of a new rôle—that of *Radix Jesse*, the “protagonist” of what is ordinarily called the Prophet play, or *Processus Prophetarum*⁶ (in the Hegge Plays the title of “Prophet Play” does not appear, as it does in nearly all of the other English mysteries). Following the *processus* and speeches of the Prophets and Kings, the play ends with the single stage direction, “*Explicit Jesse*,” and there is appended a genealogical table.⁷

If only by reason of its singularity this mention of an elaborate *Radix Jesse* vestment merits addition to the list of pertinent stage properties already found which argue favorably in support of the Lincoln hypothesis of the home of the Hegge Plays.

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A NEGLECTED EXAMPLE OF THE IN MEMORIAM STANZA

In a brief article called “Poems in the Stanza of *In Memoriam*,” published in *Modern Language Notes*, xxiv (1909), 67-70, Edward Payson Morton gives a list of 25 poems in the metre by 17 different poets—all before the publication of *In Memoriam*. For the seventeenth century no instance is cited between a translation of Horace, *Odes*, I, xxii, by John Smith in 1649 and a poem of three stanzas by Philip Ayres in 1687. As a matter of fact, a rather

⁶ For recent research and discussion of this play see Karl Young: *Ordo Prophetarum* (Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy, Vol. xx).

⁷ *Ludus Coventriae*, Block ed. (E. E. T. S., 1922), p. 62.

striking example of the form occurs in "Poems by the Matchless Orinda" (Mrs. Katherine Philips), first published in 1667. Professor Saintsbury in his treatment of Mrs. Philips' versification in his *History of English Prosody*, Vol. II (1908), pp. 394, 395, ignores this poem; his great interest in the *In Memoriam* metre (cf. *Ibid.*, III, 203-206) makes inevitable the assumption that he had not discovered it. The poem is a "Translation of Thomas à Kempis into verse, out of Mons. Corneille's lib. 3. cap. 2. Englished," and may be found in the edition of 1678, pp. 197, 198. The following stanzas exhibit a marked resemblance to *In Memoriam* in thought, cadence, and style—even to the imperfect rhymes:

Those beams proceed from thee alone,
Which through their words on us do flow;
Thou without them canst all bestow,
But they without thee can give none.

They may repeat the sound of words,
But not confer their hidden force,
And without thee their best discourse
Nothing but scorn to men affords.

Let them thy Miracles impart,
And vigorously thy will declare;
Their voice, perhaps, may strike the Ear,
But it can never move the heart.

All the stanzas are not so good; several contain decasyllabic lines, which imply that the writer was not entirely aware of what she was trying to do. The extraordinary fact, however, about this overlooked poem is that it reveals again in especially convincing manner the peculiar suitability of the stanza, not for "pensive meditation," as Professor Saintsbury says (III, 205), but for what might be called poetic theology.

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L'ALLEGRO 45-48

The various errors in the interpretation of this passage arise from the presupposition that the good-morrow salutation must be addressed to human ears. There is nothing in Milton's syntax to mislead. Take the bare outline of the passage:—"Mirth, admit me of thy crue to . . . live with thee . . ., to hear the lark . . .; then to come . . . and at my window bid good morrow." Evidently Masson is right when he says that it is L'Allegro, the poet, who bids good morrow; and there is no reason for believing it is the lark or the dawn, as Verity and Hustvedt severally suggest. But we cannot accept the suggestion that L'Allegro is looking in at the window and addressing those who have risen later than he. Think of the first words of Jonson's *Volpone*: "Good morning to the day"; and of those palace gates which, according to Belarius,

Are arch'd so high that giants may jet through
And keep their impious turbans on, without
Good morrow to the sun. (Cymbeline, iii. 3. 7.)

Herrick's "mad maid" begins her song—

Good morrow to the day so fair;
Good morning, sir, to you.

Any reader may recall other illustrations of a good old custom.

L'Allegro, on waking, lies meditating. If cares have humbled his pillow, he dismisses them as "of blackest midnight born," and allows his thoughts to dwell on happier fancies. Before he rises, he hears the song of the lark, and, thus roused, he steps from his bed and, just at dawn, approaches the window, and, looking out through the frame of climbing plants, bids good-morrow to the day. Before him is the yard, where the cock struts before his dames; and soon from the distance comes the sound of the huntsman's horn.

Milton's good-morrow to the day in this early poem—like the "Hail, thou fair Heaven!" of Belarius—is uttered cheerfully, but not flippantly or as a mere conventional greeting. It has a touch of religious solemnity. It is echoed more seriously in the "Hail, holy Light," which opens the third book of *Paradise Lost*.

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BOETHIUS: CHAUCER: WALTON: LYDGATE

While editing portions of John Walton's 1410 verse-translation of the *Consolatio*, I have noted two points at least in Chaucer's rendering which may be added to the list of his mistranslations. The first is in book ii metre 5, the "Former Age."

Somnos dabat herba salubres	Boethius
. . . slepen holsom slepes upon the gras	Chaucer's Boece
Slepten this blissed folk . . . On gras	"Former Age"
And holsom slepe þei took vpon þe grene	Walton
They slept upon the wholesome grass	1609 transl.

Here Prof. Jefferson cites the French as "Il se dormient sus les herbes." If this version were used, as seems probable, by Chaucer, it may have imposed on him the notion of grass as a bed, and through him on subsequent writers. The Latin can as well mean that a vegetable diet gave good digestion and untroubled sleep.

The second case is in book iii metre 12. Orpheus at the outer gate of Hell cannot resist the impulse to turn back toward the following Eurydice.

Vidit, perdidit, occidit.	Boethius
lokede abakwarde,—and loste hir, and was deed	Chaucer's Boece
Eurydicen—Sawe, Lost, and Killed	Queen Elizabeth
—doth lose and kill Her and himself	1609 transl.

Skeat here remarks that "the common story does not involve the immediate death of Orpheus." The Latin is however not *occidit* but *occidit*, "was undone." Prof. Hendrickson of Yale suggests to me comparison with *Georgics* iv, 491-2, ". . . ibi omnis Effusus labor,"—a passage doubtless in the mind of Boethius as he wrote, and a passage followed by reference to Orpheus' subsequent life on earth. The French of this bit I have not seen.

Lydgate, who for a time was credited with the Boethius-translation now attributed to Walton, seems to have used or valued the *Consolatio* much less than we would expect of a monk and a Chaucer-follower. In the eighth book of the *Fall of Princes*, when presenting the "tragedy" of Boethius, he does not even work up all the material offered him by his French original. Nevertheless, there are traces of Boethius-knowledge on his part, the most marked of which is in the *Fabula Duorum Mercatorum*, lines 743-46:

O deth, desyred in aduersite,
 Whan thou art callyd why nyht thou wrecchys heere
 And art so reedy in felicite
 To com to them that the nothyng desire?

This is a rendering from the opening metre of the *Consolatio*:
 "Eheu quam surda miseros auertitur aure Et flentes oculos claudere saeua negat," but developed further from the context. It is both more compact and more vigorous than the prose of Chaucer at this point, so much so that it would be especially interesting to know how Lydgate became possessed of it,—also, how much Boethius-knowledge it represents.

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NOTE ON SHAKESPEARE'S KING JOHN

Come the three corners of the world in arms
 And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue
 If England to itself do rest but true.

The sentiment contained in these lines has been traced to previous English writers but not up to now, so far as I know, to its Latin original in Sallust, *Ad Caesarem Senem de Republica Oratio* (I, 5, 2): "Aliter non orbis terrarum neque cunctae gentes conglobatae movere aut contundere queunt hoc imperium." Sallust as a rule uses Greek originals freely and in this case it is practically certain that he is adapting Plato, *Menexenus* 243 d, which is translated as follows by Jowett (Vol. 4, p. 573): "Through them the city gained the reputation of being invincible, even when attacked by all mankind. And that reputation was a true one, for the defeat which came upon us was our own doing. We were never conquered by others, and to this day we are still unconquered by them; but we were our own conquerors, and received defeat at our own hands."

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BEDE AND PAUSANIAS

An interesting parallel to Bede's account of the poet Caedmon is referred to in Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, I, xxi.

"Aeschylus said that, when he was a stripling, he fell asleep in

a field while he was watching the grapes, and that Dionysus appeared to him and bade him write tragedy; and as soon as it was day, for he wished to obey the god, he tried and found that he versified with the greatest ease. Such was the tale he told."¹

If we could imagine the Caedmon story surviving only through a guide-book note referring to a statue of the poet, we might expect it to take a form strikingly similar. Are there other examples of analogous use of this motif in comparative literature or folk-lore? An investigation of this question might yield profitable results.

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THE PATER-SAINTSBURY DEFINITION OF CRITICISM

In Saintsbury's *History of Criticism* (III, p. 546), we read: "I do not know any place setting forth that view of criticism which I have myself always held more clearly than the Preface of the *Studies* [Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873)]. 'To feel the virtue of the poet, or the painter, to disengage it, to set it forth,—these are the three stages of the critic's duty.'" This definition, although set off by quotation marks, is evidently Saintsbury's summary of Pater's position, for it is not to be found in the above-mentioned Preface. As a summary, however, the definition is just to Pater.

We generally think of Pater and Saintsbury as very modern (perhaps ultra-modern) in their conception of criticism. It is therefore of some interest to find that Alexander Gerard formulated the Pater-Saintsbury definition of criticism almost a century and a half before Saintsbury wrote the above words. Says Gerard: "A critic must not only *feel*, but possess that accuracy of discernment which enables a person to *reflect* upon his feelings with distinctness, and to explain them to others" (*An Essay on Taste*, third edition, 1780, p. 170. Italics Gerard's). Gerard's three steps are essentially the same as those of Saintsbury. It is a strange piece of irony, too, that Gerard's sentence comes closer to Saintsbury's than does any single sentence in Pater's Preface.

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¹ Quoted from Frazer's translation (Macmillan & Co.), Vol. I, p. 29.

REVIEWS.

The Book of Troilus and Criseyde. By Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from all the known manuscripts by R. K. Root. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1926.

The difficulties surmounted by the editor of this distinguished volume, and the magnitude of his achievement, can be grasped only by one who is willing to undergo the discipline of examining the preparatory studies which Professor Root has published during the last twelve years, and which are in part summarized, and in part assumed, in the book before us. No discussion of the new edition is possible without reference to these indispensable *prolegomena*.¹

Ten years ago, in his *Textual Tradition*, Professor Root established the fact that the sixteen extant manuscripts of *Troilus* present the poem in more than a single state. The revising was extensive, was deliberate, and was accomplished probably by Chaucer himself,—or, at any rate, by a writer who was as gifted as Chaucer in such matters. The broad result after this revising is an earliest version (α) and a latest one (β), each represented by an ample group of manuscripts bound into a family through common and characteristic idiosyncrasies. Among the larger differences between the two states of the poem are the absence from the earlier of Troilus's meditation on predestination in Book IV (ll. 953-1085) and his ascent to 'the eighte spere' recounted toward the end of Book V (ll. 1807-1827). The differences in individual lines may be illustrated by the following example (III, 503)²:

- (α) Neigh half this book, of which hym liste nat write.
- (β) An hondred vers, of which hym liste nat write.

Lying between α and β is a group of manuscripts (γ) derived before the revision was complete, and showing sometimes the reading of α and sometimes that of β . Very rarely do α , β , and γ present three separate authentic readings of an individual line.³ Although the γ group includes some of the handsomest and most correctly transcribed manuscripts, and although it provides invaluable evidence for many readings, it is not to be regarded as a separate version of the poem of equal importance with α and β .

¹ *Specimen Extracts from the Nine Known Unprinted MSS. of Chaucer's 'Troilus,'* ed. by W. S. McCormick and R. K. Root, Chaucer Society, London, 1914; R. K. Root, *The Manuscripts of Chaucer's 'Troilus,'* Chaucer Society, London, 1914; R. K. Root, *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's 'Troilus,'* Chaucer Society, London, 1916.

² See Root, *Textual Tradition*, p. 160.

³ These rare instances are listed by Root (*Textual Tradition*, p. 261), and adequately recorded in the edition.

It is fair to observe, in passing, that Professor Root's doctrine of the two outstanding versions has recently been somewhat confidently challenged by Dr. Brusendorff, who writes, "Accordingly there do not really exist two versions of *Troilus*, but only traces of the many corrections which Chaucer naturally made in the course of composition."⁴ It is, of course, upon these "many corrections,"—some of them far more cogent than Dr. Brusendorff allows his reader to see,—that the doctrine of the two versions rests. If, then, Dr. Brusendorff admits that Chaucer himself did a certain amount of revising, and if he can say concerning such major passages as *Troilus's* meditation on predestination and the ascent to the eighth sphere, "It is quite possible that these passages were composed a little later than their surroundings,"⁵—if he can make such concessions as these, he goes rather far toward delivering himself into Professor Root's hands. The actual evidence that the Danish critic cites seems to me to be largely erroneous or irrelevant, as I venture to show by one example. One of several kinds of evidence by which Professor Root discriminates between his two versions is the closeness with which *a* translates certain passages of *Filostrato* which in *β* are modified with notable freedom,—the freedom, it is inferred, of a reviser. Dr. Brusendorff correctly observes that for the opening phrase of the line (III, 1779, "*In tyme of trewe*, on haukyng wolde he ride," two *a* MSS (*H₂* and *Ph*) stand apart in giving the reading *Out of Troy*, which is obviously a departure from the Italian phrase, *Ne' tempi delle triegue* so closely translated by all the other MSS in the words *In tyme of trewe*. He then would give us to understand that Professor Root is committed to this erratic reading (*Out of Troy*) of two *a* MSS as being the "revised reading." In this implication Dr. Brusendorff is, I think, completely in error. Professor Root has not drawn the inference attributed to him,⁶ and he appears to be so far from regarding *Out of Troy* as a "revised reading," and to be so sure of its corrupt character, that he does not even record it in his edition.⁷

What Dr. Brusendorff seeks above all, however, is support for his hypothesis concerning the circumstances under which Chaucer "published" his poem. He holds that the poet sent his manuscript of *Troilus* forth only at the very end of his labors upon it, after he had made, at one time or another, all the changes he desired, and that the alleged "versions" result merely from scribal

⁴ Aage Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition*, London and Copenhagen, [1925], p. 171.

⁵ Brusendorff, p. 170.

⁶ See *Specimen Extracts*, pp. iii, 67; *Textual Tradition*, p. 145.

⁷ Dr. Brusendorff seems not to have understood that in printing a reading in column (b) of *Specimen Extracts* (pp. 63-72) the editors do not thereby announce this reading as an authentic revision. See *Specimen Extracts*, Preface, p. iii.

bungling with the additions and changes which Chaucer had entered upon scraps of parchment and in marginal and interlinear spaces.⁸ The hypothesis of Professor Root is that Chaucer revised his poem progressively, and "released" it at more than one stage of his work upon it.⁹ Although I happen to find Professor Root's the more intelligible of the two hypotheses, I infer that students of Chaucer will regard both theories as of only secondary importance. The essential consideration would seem to be not Chaucer's policy of publication, but rather the actual evidences from the manuscripts as to Chaucer's authentic changes in the text of his poem.

An adequate edition of *Troilus*, then, must clearly present the earliest version of the poem (α) and the latest revised form (β); and it will most appropriately give prominence to Chaucer's latest version by printing it as the text to be read, the α version being recorded in variant readings. In printing a β text Professor Root might have been expected to adopt as his basic document the best β manuscript; but unfortunately the only authorities which give β readings throughout (Rawlinson Poet. 163 = R, and Caxton 1483 [?] = Cx) are so corrupt that to base one's text upon one of them 'would mean an almost complete rewriting of the basal MS. to bring it into linguistic and metrical conformity with Chaucer's known usage.'¹⁰ Such a task of textual reconstruction *in vacuo* Professor Root wisely declines. He might have taken as his basis St. John's College MS L. 1. (J), as did McCormick in the Globe edition, since this β manuscript is remarkably free from scribal blunders, and is orthographically consistent throughout. But serious disadvantage would have arisen from the fact that J is a composite, and after line 430 of Book IV ceases to give β readings. Since, then, no acceptable MS. is forthcoming from the β group, Professor Root seeks a reliable authority lying as near as possible to this group, "a MS. as free as possible from individual corruptions, and the inheritor of a pure tradition, one in which contamination has not played a large part, a MS. reasonably consistent in spelling, and in its forms as close as may be to Chaucer's known usage, and one which is throughout the poem true to a single type of text."¹¹ These conditions are met best by three MSS of the γ group: Corpus Christi Coll. 61 (Cp), Campsall (Cl), and Harleian 2280 (H₁), from which Professor Root chooses as his basic authority Cp. Roughly described, the editor's task, then, is to alter the text of Cp into a β text, a process for which he uses

⁸ See Brusendorff, pp. 169-174.

⁹ See Root, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 258-260; *Edition* pp. lxxi-lxxxi.

¹⁰ Root, *Textual Tradition*, p. 271.

¹¹ Root, *Textual Tradition*, p. 271.

primarily J, through the two-thirds of the poem for which J gives a β text. The editorial stages through which Cp passes are these:¹²

(1) Through a comparison with the other γ MSS, Cp is purged of the corruptions arising from its immediate scribe.

(2) Then through a comparison with the MSS outside the γ group are eliminated the errors and editings of the scribe who copied the lost γ original.

(3) Then into this purged γ version are incorporated all the attested β revisions which are not already present in the purged γ .

For the second and third of these steps the authority chiefly relied upon is J.

This process of "beta-izing" Cp will not seem drastic to one who remembers "that γ was derived after most of the revisions, except those of Book III, had been completed, and that thus the text of γ is in the main a β authority."¹³ If in the paragraphs in which he explains his editorial method Professor Root had included a few applications of it, he would, I think, have added clarity and cogency to his exposition, and might have converted those who may be inclined to hold that a β text is obtainable only through using a β MS as a basis.¹⁴ After a somewhat earnest, but necessarily incomplete, examination of the possibilities, the present reviewer, at any rate, is convinced that, in view of the actual conditions of the MSS, Professor Root's method offers the nearest approach to Chaucer's final version which we can expect to attain with our present resources.

In applying his method Professor Root gives the reader all the information necessary for supporting his text, and, in general, no more. Relying upon such of the originals as are in print, I have found no case in which he fails to give accurately the attested readings of the α and β texts, as well as "the aberrant variants of the lost γ original." He gives a *complete* list of variants only in cases in which he regards the constitution or interpretation of the text as in doubt. "Except in such cases," he remarks, "no useful purpose would be served by encumbering the page with the careless or stupid aberrations of some poor scribe."¹⁵ In Professor Root's edition, then, we have always sufficiently convincing evidence of the soundness of the text; but from the information supplied we cannot reconstitute the manuscripts. Although one might have been glad to have complete variants from at least the two basic MSS,¹⁶

¹² See Root, *Textual Tradition*, pp. 271-272; *Edition*, pp. lxxxi-lxxxiv.

¹³ Root, *Edition*, p. lxxix.

¹⁴ In a review of Root's *Textual Tradition*, the late J. Douglas Bruce took this position. See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiv (1919), 37-40.

¹⁵ *Edition*, p. lxxxvii.

¹⁶ For examples of scribal blunders in these MSS. see I, 539 (Cp), III, 635 (J), and III, 303 (J), treated by Root in *Textual Tradition*, pp. 63, 163, and 178.

I have found no instance in which such additional information would have any essential bearing upon the soundness of the text before us.

In interpreting the evidences of his manuscripts, Professor Root is admirably conservative. In the line, "Ne leiser have hire speches to *fulfille*" (III, 510), the MSS, without exception, read *fulfille*; hence he, in contrast to Skeat and the Globe editor, resists the emendation *fulfelle*, although this is a permissible Kentish form which would meet the requirement of riming with *telle*. Sound caution appears again in such a reading as the following (I, 362-364):

his spirit mette
That he hire saugh, and temple, and al the wise
Right of hire look.

Adopting the unique reading of his basic MS (C1), Skeat prints a temple; and the Globe editor adopts *in temple* from a single a MS (H₄). Professor Root adheres to the unquestionably attested *and temple*, and must be content with a somewhat clumsy, but still intelligible, line. Possibly, however, conservatism becomes a trifle inhumane when it offers the following stanza without signal of danger (III, 1415-1421):

Whan that the cok, comune astrologer,
Gan on his brest to bete, and after crowe,
And Lucifer, the dayes messenger,
Gan for to rise, and oute hire stremes throwe,
And estward roos, to hym that koude it knowe,
Fortuna Major, *that anoon Criseyde*,
With herte soor, to Troilus thus seyde.

All the manuscripts read *that anoon Criseyde*,—with unintelligible syntax. "It would seem," observes Professor Root,¹⁷ "that Chaucer changed his mind in the middle of the sentence, and never revised the passage." Skeat emends: [*than*] *anoon Criseyde*. Even the more conservative editor would, I think, be justified in at least warning the puzzled reader, by some conventional sign, that the passage does not make sense.

But it is precisely through a comparison of Skeat's edition with the present one that the student becomes most admiring of Professor Root's method and integrity. Those of our generation who fail to revere Skeat's immense achievement in the *Oxford Chaucer*, do themselves discredit; but our reverence must not blind us to the fact that Skeat's text of *Troilus* (1894) was produced through a defective method, being "a print of γ, purged of its obvious errors by an eclectic adoption of readings from other authorities."¹⁸ The result of this somewhat irresponsible procedure,

¹⁷ *Edition*, p. 489.

¹⁸ See Root, *Edition*, p. lxi.

by an editor of great scholarship and fine taste, is a version very agreeable to read. To most persons Skeat's eclectic reading (1, 747), "Eek som-tyme it is craft to seme fle," will probably afford more immediate pleasure than will Professor Root's abundantly attested version, "Ek som tyme it is a craft to seme fle." But in order to attain the desired smoothness Skeat completely deserted his γ authorities, and silently selected a reading found in only one α MS and two β MSS. Such an unsupported attempt to rescue Chaucer's metrical reputation seems ill-advised. "It is not to be supposed," remarks Professor Root candidly, "that Chaucer wrote only lines of mechanically regular metre, nor that he always succeeded in avoiding awkward constructions."¹⁹ The most notable divergences between the two editions arise in cases in which Skeat's γ MSS give the unrevised α reading, against Professor Root's revised β version, as in the following (III, 1392-1393):

To techen hem that they ben in the vyce
And loveres nought, al-though they holde hem nyce. (Skeat)
To techen hem that coveytise is vice,
And love is vertu, though men holde it nyce. (Root)

From every point of view, Professor Root's advantage, in such instances, is very great indeed.²⁰

The other modern edition with which Professor Root inevitably comes into competition is the Globe (1898). This edition, like the one under review, presents a β text of *Troilus*, and the basis of it is the β MS J, used largely by Professor Root for correcting the text of Cp into a β text. But since after line 430 of Book IV J ceases to give a β text, the effect upon the Globe edition is "the printing of what is predominantly a β text for the first two-thirds of the poem, and of what is predominantly an α text for the remainder."²¹ The differences between the two editions, however, even within the last third of the poem, are not so numerous as one might expect. In the first 500 lines of Book V I find noteworthy differences in only 15 lines. In each case Professor Root has the advantage, either because the Globe editor follows the α reading of his chosen MS, or because he resorts to emendation or eclecticism.²²

In his primary task of producing a sound text, then, Professor Root's success is essentially complete. He has done far more than improve upon his editorial predecessors; he has adopted a correct scientific method, and has followed it unswervingly. Upon the

¹⁹ *Edition*, p. lxxxiv.

²⁰ After comparing the Skeat and Root texts throughout about 3000 lines, I estimate that through the poem as a whole the two texts probably show noteworthy differences in between 5 and 10 per cent. of the lines.

²¹ See Root, *Edition*, p. lxx.

²² Through the poem as a whole the Globe edition probably differs from Root's, in a noteworthy way, in only one or two per cent. of the lines.

basis of the manuscripts now available a better text is not to be expected or desired.

The finality which characterizes the text could not, in the nature of things, be attained for the annotation and commentary. In these matters the editor can only *select* from the mass of information and opinion in his possession at the moment of publication. He cannot conceivably satisfy the possible demands of each reader. The wise reader, ought, perhaps, to express gratitude for what is given rather than disappointment over what is withheld. The reviewer of so important a book, however, would be unworthy of his commission if he were silent as to the limitations that the editor has set for himself in this part of his labors.

In his notes, at the end of the volume, devoted chiefly to literary elucidation of the text, Professor Root has Skeat as his sole competitor. He has very palpably surpassed his predecessor in the amount of information supplied, and the whole body of annotation is invariably apt, lucid, and freshly evaluated. Without the slightest charge of dereliction, or attempt at completeness, I venture to note a few types of omission. I myself should have been glad to have notes upon the following expressions: *blase of straw* (iv, 184)²³; *feyned loves* (v, 1848)²⁴; *I, that god of loves servauntes serve* (i, 15)²⁵; *Tregentyll* (Colophon of MS R).²⁶ In certain notes, already very able, students of the poem might have been aided by specific references to studies presenting additional information, or divergent views. The following are examples: iv, 953-1085 (Troilus on God's foreknowledge)²⁷; iii, 1420 (Fortuna Major)²⁸; v, 813-814 (Portrait of Criseyde)²⁹; v, 360-385 (Pandarus on dreams)³⁰; v, 1558 (aventail)³¹; iv, 176-196 (Hector's befriending of Criseyde)³²; ii, 1398 (Scene at the house of Deiphebus)³³; ii, 522-539 and iii, 15-17 (The terminology of Christianity applied to Courtly Love).³⁴ In the note on ii, 610-644 (see also p. xxx) Professor Root seems to infer from *Filostrato*

²³ See Brown, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi (1912), 210.

²⁴ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xl (1925), 272-273.

²⁵ Cf. *servus servorum Dei* of papal bulls; Dodd, *Courtly Love*, p. 192.

²⁶ See Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western Mss.*, iii (1895), 318; McCormick, in *Furnivall Miscellany*, London, 1901, p. 299; MacCracken, in *Athenaeum*, Feb. 29, 1908, p. 258.

²⁷ See Patch, in *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, xvii (1918), 399-422.

²⁸ See Curry, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxviii (1923), 94-96.

²⁹ See Griffin, in *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, xx (1921), 39-46.

³⁰ See Curry, in *Englische Studien*, lviii (1924), 24-60.

³¹ See Hamilton, in *Modern Philology*, iii (1906), 541-546.

³² See Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio* (University of Cincinnati Studies, Vol. x, Part 2), Cincinnati, 1916, pp. 71, 84-85.

³³ See *id.*, pp. 59-61.

³⁴ See Dodd, *Courtly Love*, pp. 191 ff.

II, 82 that Troilo and Pandaro *ride* past Criseida's window. I infer rather that the horse is invented by Chaucer as part of the two brilliant riding-scenes which he adds to the story.

In an illuminating note upon line 1797 of Book V Professor Root observes, "There is evidence in the poem itself that Chaucer had in mind a public reading of his poem." One regrets that the editor did not bring the evidence forward and comment upon it, especially in view of the fact that Chaucer seems not to be of one mind in this matter. At times the poet seems to be writing for readers,³⁵ and again, for auditors.³⁶ A discussion of these facts would have been particularly appropriate in the present edition, since Professor Root's basic MS (Cp) contains a remarkable full-page painting which presumably represents Chaucer as reciting his poem to a courtly company.³⁷

Passing from the notes at the end of the volume to the introductory commentary at the beginning, we find succinct essays upon authorship, date, sources, manuscripts, and text,—essays so adequate that a reviewer can merely record his admiration.³⁸

Professor Root's modest declaration that he has not attempted aesthetic appraisals, "except incidentally and by implication,"³⁹

³⁵ See, for example, *T. and C.* v, 270 ('Thow, redere').

³⁶ See, for example, *T. and C.* I, 5; I, 450; II, 30; II, 43-46; II, 1751; III, 499.

³⁷ See Root, *The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Troilus*, p. 7. Brusendorff (*op. cit.*) has recently published two reproductions of this painting (Plates I and II), and has discussed it at some length (pp. 19-25). On the general matter of the poet's reading his works aloud see Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, pp. 110-111, 170; Root, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXVIII (1913), pp. 421, 429; L. M. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, Boston, 1896, p. 23; Kittredge, *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus* (Chaucer Society, Second Series, 42), p. 52; K. J. Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 80.

³⁸ Some students of the poem will probably feel that Professor Root (See p. xxx, note 49) ought to have constructed a new table showing the indebtedness of *Troilus* to *Filostrato*, to supersede the estimates of Rossetti and the tables of Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, II, 461, 467, 474, 484, and 494-495). Cummings (*The Indebtedness*, pp. 50-122) provides an abundance of suggestions for such a reconstruction; and R. Fischer's, *Zu den Kunstformen des mittelalterlichen Epos*, Vienna, 1899, pp. 217-370, may still deserve consideration. To foot-note 115 on p. li might be added a reference to H. N. MacCracken, *More Odd Texts of Chaucer's 'Troilus,'* in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxv (1910), 126-127. In connection with page xxix reference might be made to MacCracken's *The Source of Keats's 'Eve of St. Agnes'* (*Modern Philology*, v [1907], 145-152), especially since this same study was somewhat unfortunately overlooked by Cummings (*The Indebtedness*, p. 11). In connection with the excellent paragraph on Horace on p. xliii, one might refer to C. L. Wrenn, *Chaucer's Knowledge of Horace*, in *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVIII (1923), 286-292. Wrenn suggests a source in Horace for *T. and C.* II, 484-489,—a passage which Professor Root does not annotate.

³⁹ Preface, p. vii.

will not blind the reader to the grace and originality of the introductory sections concerning the personages, the conduct of the action, and the moral import of the poem. Perhaps the most arresting observation here concerns the three stanzas⁴⁰ of the epilogue in which Chaucer adapts a passage from *Teseide* to the purpose of recounting the ascent of Troilus's soul to the eighth sphere. From this point of vantage Troilus for the first time discerns the vanity of earthly love and pleasure in comparison with the perfect felicity of heaven on which our hearts should be set. As this realization comes to him,

in hym self he lough right at the wo
Of hem that wepten for his deth so faste.

"He has taken life too seriously," remarks Professor Root; "now, like the poet who created him, he sees in life a high but comic irony. . . . The last we hear from Troilus is a peal of celestial laughter."⁴¹ I confess that in the brilliant passage from which I can quote only too briefly, Professor Root seems to me to deal somewhat violently with both the words of the text and the spirit of the epilogue. I cannot believe that when Chaucer wrote of Troilus that "in hym self he lough" ("he laughed *within himself*"), he meant to launch "a peal of celestial laughter."

My trifling suggestions as to modifications and additions, however, are truly negligible in the presence of Professor Root's commanding achievement. He has set a new standard for the editing of Chaucer. He has produced a volume worthy of the great poem which it presents. A higher tribute would be difficult to phrase.

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Bücher des Mittelalters herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH VON DER LEYEN. München. F. Bruckmann A. G.

Band I. *Wunder und Taten der Heiligen* von GOSWIN FRENKEN. München, 1925. pp. xxxi, 234. M. 9.

Band II. *Sagen und Geschichten aus dem alten Frankreich und England* von WERNER SCHWARTZKOPFF und MAJA SCHWARTZKOPFF. München, 1925. pp. xx, 315. M. 10.

⁴⁰ *T. and C.* v, 1807-1827.

⁴¹ *Edition*, pp. xlix-l.

Band III. *Tristan und Isold* von FRIEDRICH RANKE. München, 1925. pp. 283. M. 10.

Band IV. *Märchen, Fabeln und Schwänke* von ERNST TEGETHOFF. München, 1925. pp. xv, 387. M. 11.

The literary enterprise, of which the four volumes here reviewed are the beginning, is so admirably planned, and, thus far, equally admirably executed, that it deserves the cordial welcome of scholars everywhere and the careful attention of students of mediaeval literature. The name of the editor is a sufficient guarantee of the scholarly nature of the undertaking, and is favorably known to the lovers of *märchen* in all lands. He is the author of an admirable little book on stories: *Das Märchen*, 2nd ed., 1917, and of an edition of the Household Tales of the Grimms, 1912, two volumes. He is more widely known by his editorship (with Paul Zaunert) of *Die Märchen der Weltliteratur*, published by Diederichs in Jena since 1912, comprising some twenty-eight volumes devoted to the tales of all parts of the globe.

The object of the present series, in the words of the editor is "to display the middle ages in their extent in time and space and history and in the unity of its civilization, the world which the millenium from the migration of nations to the Reformation embraces, blends into one great organism the eastern and western, Germanic and Christian elements and yet again leads each land and each civilization to its individual development. This aim is to be realized chiefly by the choice, interpretation and characterization of the mediaeval witnesses in order that the mediaeval life in its amazing fulness and thousandfold distinctness may spread itself before the reader living and powerful.

"The documents of the middle ages, poems, chronicles, learned and religious confessions shall ever speak. The world above and below, chivalry and Christianity, minstrel and priest, hilarity and inclination to adventure, profound earnestness and absorption in God, all shall arise before us fresh and direct.—The speech of the middle ages in its youthful strength and charm, its lofty spiritual contents and wonderful formal culture few have heard as they should be heard. It acts in our time like a miracle and is able to revive our present everywhere.—The mediaeval pictures, especially the pictures of the mediaeval manuscripts, shall show us the times as they saw themselves; there is a treasure of representations of the mediaeval ecclesiastical, chivalric and popular life, an enchanted world, which shall serve as an incomparable ornament to our *Bücher des Mittelalters*.

"A series of books, such as we here plan, is demanded by the science of the present day which strives after a new cosmopolitanism. The editors of the volumes are well-known proven scholars,

they address themselves in a language intelligible to all, to the wide circle of the cultivated and impressionable. The fact that in these volumes the middle ages reveal themselves, that in them word and picture are united richly and clearly and in perfect reproduction, distinguishes them from all other publications."

Let us now see how the above aims have been realized. The first volume is devoted to the acts and miracles of the saints, beginning with those recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels. Then follow examples taken from the great mediaeval repertoires: Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Vitae Patrum*, *Legenda Aurea*, Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*, etc. There is an excellent historical introduction and a concise bibliography precedes each class of legends, and the individual stories are provided with notes showing their origin and diffusion. Besides a list of the saints mentioned there is a very useful index of the incidents of the legends. There are sixteen full-page illustrations taken from German, French and Netherlandish MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, besides two from MSS. of the beginning of the sixteenth century; all from collections of the legends of the saints and breviaries in the state libraries of Munich and Vienna. Six of these illustrations are admirably reproduced in colors.

The editor of the second volume says that it has been his wish to show how the people of Gaul, between the Vosges and the ocean, grew to a consciousness of a peculiar nation and to a new form of epic in the youthful Old-French language. The book then is a collection of Latin and Old-French monuments, each of which represents a step or a new side of this development of mediaeval life, and each elucidates the other. These monuments begin with extracts from Merovingian chronicles in Latin, and are followed by early Old-French ecclesiastical hymns: *Saint Eulalia*, *Saint Leger*, etc. Then come the heroic chansons de gestes: the *Chanson de Roland* and other similar poems; the rhymed chronicles (the Crusades, Wace, etc.), and, finally, Old-French prose of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, comprising extracts from Villehardouin, the Menestrel de Reims, the biographies of the Troubadours, Joinville, Froissart and Philippe de Commines. The carefully selected extracts are usually accompanied by an introduction and there is a prefatory list of works consulted. The extracts are sufficiently long (in the case of *Chanson de Roland* covering pp. 23-73) to give a good idea of the author and the period. The illustrations are sixteen in number, seven of them are from the Bayeux Tapestry, and six are beautifully reproduced in colors.

I shall examine the fourth volume out of its numerical order as it properly belongs with the first and second, being a volume of extracts from the stories, jests, and fables of all the lands of

Europe: Latin, Celtic, French, German, Dutch, Scandinavian, English, Italian and Spanish. For the first category the editor has drawn on such works as the Seven Wise Masters, the *Disciplina Clericalis*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, etc. The Celtic extracts are from Jacob's *Celtic Fairy Tales* (Conlath's journey to the other world), the *Voyage of Maeldun*, the *Mabinogion*, etc. The French element is represented by examples from Chrétien de Troyes, Marie de France, *Aucassin and Nicolette*, the *Fabliaux*, etc. The German contingent is taken from the epic poems of Wolfram of Eschenbach, Gottfried of Strassburg's *Tristan and Isolde*, von der Hagen's *Gesamtabenteuer*, Gerhard von Minden's *Fabeln*, etc. Holland is represented by one extract only, the *Land of Cocagne*. The Scandinavian extracts are from the *Prose Edda* of Snorri Sturluson, the Hamlet story from Saxo-Grammaticus, etc. England is shown in *Thomas the Rhymer*, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, *King Lear*, from Layamon's *Brut*, etc. Southern Europe is shown by Italian stories from the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, Boccaccio, Sacchetti, Sercambi, Poggio's *Facetiae*, Masuccio Salernitano, etc. Spain has four stories: the *Dean of Santiago*, the *King's New Clothes*, both from the Conde Lucanor, and a romance, *Conde Alarcos*. This long list of stories is closed by an extract from *Don Quixote* (I. 6), where the Priest and the Barber sit in judgement on the Romances of Chivalry in the Knight's library. The method adopted by the editor of the second volume of the series has been followed here; viz. a prefatory note is given to each extract or class of extracts. These introductions are often of considerable length and constitute a valuable feature of the work. At the end are the usual literary references and a very full index of incidents. The sixteen plates, five in colors, are admirably executed.

The volumes thus far examined have contained miscellaneous extracts from longer sources; the third volume is devoted entirely to a single work, one of the most famous, however, of all the mediaeval romances, *Tristan and Isolde*. The lovers of Sir Walter Scott will recall that he was the first to awaken an interest in the comparative study of this great poem. In 1804 he published the English version contained in the Auchinleck Ms. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Scott knew the Welsh accounts, the fragment of the *Folie Tristan* in the Douce Ms., the *Lai du Chevre-feuille* of Marie de France, and the French prose romance. As Golther says, he knew that Chrétien de Troyes had written a poem on Tristan. Scott's national prejudice, however, led him to ascribe the English poem to Thomas of Ercildoune and to make it the source of the French versions. Scott clung to his belief in the antiquity of the version he published and in the last novel he wrote, *Castle Dangerous*, he makes the minstrel Bertram offer

as a pretext for his visit to the Castle his desire to seek the poems of Thomas of Ercildoune said to be preserved in the fortress.

Another personal allusion may be made here to an American scholar, whose untimely death has cut short her valuable labors in this field. I allude to Mrs. Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, to whose memory this volume is appropriately dedicated by the editor.

The contents of the volume are briefly as follows: the Celtic Tristan poetry, the Forest life; the oldest Tristan epic, the Love potion, Isolde of the White Hand. Then follow extracts from the poems of Eilhart of Oberg, Béroul; the episodic poems of Marie de France alluded to above, the *Nightingale* from *Donnei des Amants*, the *Folie Tristan*; and copious selections from the great poems of Thomas and Gottfried of Strassburg. A concluding chapter is devoted to the vicissitudes of the Tristan poems in the later middle ages in France, Germany and Iceland. Bibliographical references are given in the notes to the text. The illustrations in this volume, seventeen in number, four in colors, deserve special mention, and have received unusually full explanations from the editor. Five are reproductions of the Wienhauser tapestries, and one from the tapestry formerly at Erfurt, and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Two of the Bozen frescoes are given and two plates are devoted to the carvings of the St. Petersburg casket. Several plates are devoted to the Chertsey tiles, which Professor R. S. Loomis has made the subject of a special work published by the University of Illinois, 1916.

In concluding this notice the reviewer wishes to express his admiration of the outward form as well as of the intellectual contents of this remarkable series. The paper, print, illustrations, are worthy of the highest praise. The inward arrangement and strict scholarship are united with an interesting style, and afford fascinating reading for those who have no special knowledge of the subjects treated in these four volumes. If these works, or similar ones, could be put into the hands of college students they could not fail to attract them to the study of a fascinating period and perhaps fix for the future their field of work. The series deserves translation, and we are glad to say that the worthy publisher hopes to continue the enterprise with volumes on *Travels and Adventures*, *Folk songs and Love songs*, the *Edda*, *Masters of Mysticism*, the *Arabians*, the *Prayer Book*, etc.

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The Merveilleux in the Epic. By RALPH C. WILLIAMS. Paris: Champion, 1925. Pp. 152.

The author of this volume is to be congratulated on the useful purpose for which his book was planned. Nothing more illuminates for later readers the literature of a past age than some knowledge of the critical ideas whose influence it felt; and the tracing of a single aspect of critical theory in its development through an extended period or series of periods is often far more enlightening than a more general treatment of literary criticism as a whole. And so a work of more limited scope, such as the present study, might quite well be, in certain ways, of greater service than the general treatises, monumentally valuable in themselves, of (for example) Spingarn, Saintsbury, or (in a somewhat narrower field) Bacci and Trabalza. Cases in point, already touching on the subject of the *Merveilleux*, are Hippolyte Rigault's excellent *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, which appeared exactly seventy years ago (Paris, 1856), and also the more recent work of the Jesuit P. V. Delaporte: *Du Merveilleux dans la Littérature Française sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1891), an admirably clear and adequate treatment (despite some slight religious bias) of the matter in the last five chapters of the present volume; though the latter treats the eighteenth century (Chapter Five) in more detail.

Essentially, Professor Williams' book summarizes for us French ideas during three centuries on the whole matter of the *Merveilleux* in the epic, and throughout emphasizes especially the conflict of opinions between the advocates of a pagan supernatural and those of the Christian. The author wisely limits himself to considering the theoretical discussions of the epic marvellous alone, without attempting to take up the marvellous in practice, as manifested in the epic poetry itself. He divides his matter under seven headings: *Introduction*; I. *The Marvelous in Greece, Rome, and Italy*; II. *The Sixteenth Century*; III. *The Seventeenth Century. The Advocates of the Merveilleux chrétien*; IV. *The Seventeenth Century. The Partisans of the Pagan Marvelous*; V. *The Eighteenth Century*; and *Conclusion*. An extensive bibliography follows, arranged in the main chronologically; but there is unfortunately no index, nor even an analytical table of contents. This lack largely handicaps the reference value of the volume; it is to be hoped that, if a second edition of the book should be forthcoming, this defect may be supplied. And with the possibility of a second edition in mind, the following comments may perhaps be found of use: (1) It would, perhaps, make for greater clearness if the theorists discussed in the various categories and sub-categories were treated with more regard to the chronological order of the expression of their ideas. On pp. 134-135, for example, we read:

La Harpe does not agree with those who censure Tasso for employing magic, for he thinks that the enchanted forest produces a splendid effect. He, however, agrees with Boileau in saying that Tasso's magic would not have greatly succeeded if it had not been for Clorinde and Armide, and he admits that the magic of the *Gerusalemme liberata* would not please in the *Henriade*. L'Abbé Goujet believes that magic is essential to the Christian poem which one wishes to qualify as epic and praises Tasso's use of magic. Chateaubriand laments the fact that Tasso's timidity forced him to employ the little springs of magic instead of a more rounded marvelous, for magic is a marvelous of a lesser kind. Le Moyne believes that magic can be employed but sparingly, but this is not Marmontel's idea for he sees in it a vast field of fiction where one can allow one's imagination to roam untrammelled. Baillet. . . .

These writers expressed their opinions in the years 1797, 1730 c., 1800, 1658, 1760 c., and 1685, respectively; in the absence of footnotes (of which, incidentally, there is something of a lack all through the book, more than nine-tenths of the opinions quoted lacking all reference to page or even work), the less informed reader is likely to be misled by making the quite pardonable supposition that the citations are more or less in chronological order. This observation applies throughout; and, except for the division into centuries, the reader is given no opportunity of tracing the development of the various ideas. (2) In several passages the expression does not make the sense quite clear. It is hard to tell, for example, whether the "He" of the last clause in the following lines should refer to Marmontel, Frain de Tremblay, or Tatien:

It is not in modern poetry that one should seek the marvelous, it would be out of place, says Marmontel. The only thing that can be admitted is an allegory rather than the marvelous properly so-called. We read in the work of Frain de Tremblay that Tatien had said that if one reduced what the poets said to an allegorical meaning, the gods of the pagans would be annihilated. He makes fun of a certain Metrodore de Lampagne . . . (p. 110).

There are a number of similar cases which might well be clarified for the benefit of the uninformed reader. Occasionally a passage is a little obscure for other reasons; e. g. (on p. 44):

In the preface to the last twelve books of *La Pucelle*, Chapelain says that judges will observe . . . whether sacred things have been treated with reverence and whether in the employment of angels, saints, and demons, whether or not a reasonable emulation of the use of pagan divinities has not been evident, and also the avoidance of confounding good religion with bad, and uniting matters which are mutually antagonistic, possessing only an absolute incompatibility.

A few phrases, too, such as "poetic persons" (meaning *personifications*), "moral personages" (*allegorical figures*), "fables" (*mythology*), "the portrait of Renown" (*the figure of Rumour*), etc., might be, perhaps, either defined or simplified for the understanding of the less sophisticated. (3) The use of vernacular titles in place of the original Latin should probably rather be avoided; and

the names of literary characters might possibly (in an English work) better be quoted in the original form. So for *Pharsale* read *Pharsalia* (p. 11), for *Antoniade* read *Vita Divi Antonii* (p. 13), for *Parto della Vergine* read *De Partu Virginis* (p. 14), for *Christiade* read *Christias* (*ib.*), etc.; and (p. 114 and *passim*) for "Renaud" read "Rinaldo," for "Ubalde" read "Ubaldo," for "Armide" read "Armida," and so following. (4) In Chapter Two, either the contents of the chapter or else the summary conclusion on p. 22 might be in some way modified. The conclusion runs: "It is very evident then, that . . . the epic poetry of the sixteenth century and the theoretical pronouncements are in most part entirely pagan." The last phrase doubtless is correct; but the chapter has not really shown it. Only five writers have up to this point been mentioned; of these, three are cited as frankly anti-pagan, while the only two paganists, Ronsard and Tristan l'Hermite, who, though included here (p. 19), belongs in the seventeenth century, both specifically apologise for introducing pagan figures. (5) Minor corrigenda: p. 14, l. 17, for (1587) read (1586); *ibid.* l. 18, for (1594) read (composed in 1594); *ibid.* l. 20, for (1603) read (1585: composed at least twenty years earlier); p. 16, l. 23, for Bernardo Tasso states . . . read Elsewhere Giraldis states . . . ; and *ibid.*, footnote, read . . . , Padova, II, 307. [The letter in question, though printed with the *Lettere* of Bernardo Tasso, is by G.-B. Giraldis (Cinthio).]; p. 37, l. 15, omit that; p. 141, l. 8, for *Ethica* read *Ethnica*; p. 148, l. 5, "1706. Saint-Evremond.—*Oeuvres*, IV, Londres.": the main pertinent work of this author, *Du merveilleux qui se trouve dans les poèmes des anciens*, might have been cited under 1688; p. 151, l. 13, "1761. Trailh.—*Querelles littéraires*, Paris.": further bibliographical details would be helpful: no such writer is known to Lanson, nor even any for whose name this could conceivably be a misprint; p. 152, l. 28 f., read *letterari italiani*. In the bibliography throughout, it would be helpful to include at least initials of all writers; especially when, *e. g.*, "Racine" means not the *grand poète* but his son, Louis Racine. There are also in the bibliography some minor typographical and linguistic inconsistencies which can readily be corrected. (6) The following writers cited in the text should be included in the bibliography: Balzac (pp. 27, 135, etc.), Delille (p. 4), Strada (p. 61), Voltaire, *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des arts* (pp. 89-90), Calvel (pp. 92, 111), Cocci, *Lettre sur la Henriade* (p. 100), Lancelin (p. 111), *et al.* Opinions of these and other writers are cited, often at some length, without mention (in most cases) even of the work involved. The interesting little volume usually ascribed to François de Callières, *Histoire poétique des anciens et des modernes*, on which Swift seems undoubtedly to have modelled his more famous *Battle of the Books*, was also worthy of inclusion both in text and bibliography. It should be noted in conclusion that the

proof-reading seems to have been surprisingly well done. Although printed in France, and apparently in some haste, not a single misspelled English word or name appears. *Félicitons M. Champion!*

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An Explanatory Course in General Language, developed by LUCY MALLARY BUGBEE and others. Pp. xii + 258. Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., New York, 1926.

The Gateway to English, by H. A. TREBLE and G. H. VALLINS. Pp. iv + 107. Oxford University Press, American Branch. New York, 1926. \$0.70.

Both the books under review were written for use in the first-year class of the secondary school. They therefore are not of immediate interest to the college and university teachers whom this journal primarily serves. At the same time, the university men certainly ought to keep up with what is being done in the secondary schools, and the authors of high-school text-books may find it worth their while to hear what the university men have to say. And let me say, first of all, that both books are attempts to meet real needs, to solve real problems. The authors of *General Language* tell us that they purpose "to offer all pupils the story of the development of language in general, and in particular an understanding of the historical place of their own language--English; . . . to present a foretaste of the study of foreign language . . . ; to give the individual pupil, his teachers, and his parents some basis for judging whether he should continue the study of a specific language further; . . ." These are good aims. An explanatory course well carried out along those lines ought to be a useful thing. If then the book under review is not wholly successful, that is not the fault of the idea behind it. The trouble lies rather in the scholarship of the authors. The book ought to have been written by a grammarian of distinction. The authors may retort that no grammarian undertook the task, and they did, as well as they could, a job that otherwise would have been left undone. Quite so. And yet it is a pity that no expert was available, if only to correct obvious errors. Let me give a few illustrations of what I mean. On p. xii we find a linguistic map of Europe (an excellent idea in itself). Here practically the whole of Scotland (including the Lowlands!) and all Ireland except one corner, are shaded to mark Gaelic-speaking territory, and Lettish and Lithuanian are put down under the heading "Slavonic lan-

guages." The authors seem positive that paleolithic man "had developed no regular system of language" (p. 8). They attempt to explain how language arose, but seem unfamiliar with the works of such authorities as Jespersen. They tell of the development of writing, but leave out the syllabary. For their ideas about race, they depend on Madison Grant's *Passing of the Great Race*, a work which they specifically recommend to the teacher. They lay upon the poor philologists the burden of saying that "the original Aryan language probably originated about 3000 B. C., in the northern part of Europe amongst the Nordic people" (p. 20). They promote the popular superstition that English is a mixed language (p. 22), and they echo the belief that Chaucer is "the father of the English language" (p. 37). Needless to say, they attribute primarily or even exclusively to the Normans the changes that made Old into Middle English. They explain that French *r* "should always be trilled, either at the end of the tongue or with the palate. The latter pronunciation is exceedingly difficult for an American" (p. 99). One would certainly agree to the last statement, and one might add that it would be exceedingly difficult for a Frenchman too. They tell us that the Germans are Nordics, though they admit that in Württemberg there are traces of Alpines (p. 176). Under "Names of Boys" we find a long list of "Teutonic" names, including *Alfred*, and a short list of "Anglo-Saxon" names, including the Scandinavian *Harold*. I judge that *Teutonic* here means 'German' rather than 'Germanic.' Under "Names of Girls" I miss the "Anglo-Saxon" *Audrey*. The authors seem to be under the impression that the Romans conquered all the British Isles; indeed, a pupil, unless he were wide awake, would get the idea that Julius Caesar himself had done this (pp. 30 ff.). We are also told that "about 560 A. D. Rome was sacked by the Goths and Vandals, and the great power of Rome was ended" (p. 30). In sum, the authors have not given us a book as trustworthy as a high-school text-book ought to be.

The same cannot be said of *The Gateway to English*, which strikes me as a good job. The authors enliven their pages with all manner of drawings, which serve to make vivid and concrete the points which they make. These drawings ought to make grammar interesting to the dullest of school-children. The book was written to fit the English school-system, however, and I do not know whether the English departments in American high-schools would take to it.

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Trobadorgedichte. Dreissig Stücke altprovenzalischer Lyrik. Zum ersten Male kritisch bearbeitet von ADOLF KOLSEN. (Sammlung romanischer Übungstexte, VI. Band). Halle, Niemeyer, 1925.

Professor Kolsen of Berlin is an unwearied editor of Provençal texts. After his edition of Giraut de Borneil and his interrupted *Gedichte der Trobadors*, he has now prepared a collection of 30 hitherto unedited songs by some 23 troubadours. It includes specimens of all the more important lyric forms: 16 *cansos*, 4 *sirventes*, 4 *tensos*, 6 *partimens*. Footnotes give some variants, as well as suggestions as to the interpretation of unusual words or constructions. A short glossary and a list of proper names are added. The texts have been carefully edited, with understanding and acuteness. Unfortunately, the editor has relied, for his *apparatus criticus*, on previous reprints and copies which are not always trustworthy. He has not collated the MSS. himself, nor consulted those which have not been printed. Thus, the numerous and valuable MSS. preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale have been entirely neglected, save in so far as they happen to occur in Mahn's reprints. The latter, as is well known, are often incorrect. Professor Kolsen has also introduced at times his own emendations (distinguished usually by italics). These are not always fortunate and could have been avoided by the use of the other MSS. Moreover, some variants of the MSS. used are omitted, or are given incorrectly.

I propose to take as an example piece no. 3, a *canso* by Albert de Sestaron,¹ preserved in the MSS. ACEDGIKMTaf. Of these Prof. K. was able to use only ADGa. First it may be noted that his strophe order is not found in any MS. The order as found in the various MSS.² is as follows: AGIKa (1 2 3 6 5), DGMT (1 2 6 5 4), C (1 2 6 4 5). The original order was evidently: 1 2 3 6 5 4. The editor was probably induced to change it by metrical considerations. The same rimes being repeated in a different order in the first three strophes,³ he evidently thought that the last three should repeat this arrangement. But the poet, by an ingenious device, rarely found among the troubadours, reverses the order, strophe IV having the same arrangement of rimes as III; V as II; and VI as I.

As to the text of this song, K. nowhere indicates his MS. base. He has apparently mainly followed D, without hesitating to introduce emendations of his own where the text seemed to require it. A comparison of the Paris MSS. indicates the following changes:

¹ It is No. 16, 9 of Bartsch's *Grundriss*.

² The MS. f contains only the first two strophes.

³ The rime scheme is as follows: I abbecded; II daaeecbcb; III bddccaea.

v. 15: *Per merce·us prec que no m'aiatz salvatge*. *Aiatz* is an emendation of the editor. The MSS. CEIKM read: *que no·us sia salvatge*,⁴ which is evidently correct, and which gives a different sense.

vv. 25-32. This strophe (found in D) is thus printed by the editor:

Tenez vil me e mas chanzos:
Depuis no·m voletz far nuill be,
Failliz que·us plevist, per ma fe,⁵
Si tot vos etz e bell' e d'aut lignatge.
Lo bes, qu'e·us voill, es egal del paratge,
E s'eu enanz ne·us dic vostra lausor,
A vos sui hom e amics e servire;
Ben me podetz penre per servidor.

This strophe is also found in CEMT. The MS. C presents the following reading, which is in all respects superior to that reconstituted by Kolsen:

Retenez me e mas chansos,
Puis no·m voletz far autre be,
Faitz⁶ qu'eu vos plevisc, per ma fe.
Si tot vos etz bella e d'aut lignatge,⁷
Lo bens que·us voill es egal⁸ lo coratge;
E se·us enanz ni dic vostra lausor,
E vos sui hom et amanz e servire,
Ben me podetz penre per servidor.

V. 36. *semblanz*, found in AGIKT, seems to me preferable to *plazers*, given by CDEMa and adopted by Kolsen.

V. 48. Ara sapchatz la dolor e·l martire,
Don ieu sui tant destreitz et enojos.

Here Kolsen changes *enveios*, found in all the MSS. without exception, to *enojos*, without indicating the emendation. The reading *enveios*, however, provides one of the antithetic paradoxes beloved by the troubadours, and should be kept: "Know now the pain and torment by which I am so afflicted and of which I am so desirous."

Moreover, K. has failed to give the following variants of the MSS. (ADGa) at his disposition: in D:⁹ v. 1 *destreit*; v. 31 *Eu vos son*; v. 37 *E la bocha don vos vei gen rire*; v. 44 *Qui tant*

⁴ *Salvatge* is here the neuter form, in agreement with the unexpressed subject of *sia*.

⁵ Kolsen makes no comment on this bizarre line.

⁶ I interrupt *faitz* as a substantive, in apposition with *me e mas chansos* of v. 25: "deeds which I dedicate to you, by my faith."

⁷ The hiatus *bella e* is a license which many troubadours permit themselves occasionally. Cf. for example Bernart de Ventadorn (edition Appel), 8, 19 *d'ira e d'esmai*; 13, 52 *vergonha e paor*, etc.

⁸ *Egal* is here the preposition.

⁹ According to photographs in my possession.

cela. In G: ¹⁰ v. 18 *granz*; v. 31 *amic*; v. 43 *granz*. In a: ¹¹ v. 13 *qi me faz*; v. 34 *vostre*. The following variants are incorrectly given: 8 *de* AD (*del* in both MSS.); 14 *des ienc* D (the MS. has *renc*); 43 *lantra* D (the MS. has *la tra* = *la terra*, as in the text).

Space is lacking to examine in a similar way the other pieces contained in this edition. I do not, however, wish to imply that all would show the same omissions and errors as this one.¹² In general, the text is well established and readable. But this example will suffice, I think, to prove that Professor Kolsen's critical apparatus cannot be trusted by scholars without recourse to the MSS. Many of the songs, moreover, are quite difficult to understand, and one would have liked more interpretation and commentary than he has seen fit to give us. A translation would in many cases have been most acceptable. But the book is useful, inasmuch as it presents, in a readable form, a number of songs not easily accessible elsewhere. As such, it deserves a hearty welcome.

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The Standard of American Speech and Other Papers, by FRED NEWTON SCOTT. Pp. vi + 345. Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1926.

In this volume Professor Scott has gathered together a number of papers contributed to learned and popular journals during the past twenty years or so. The volume is thus a miscellany; it contains papers that range from *The Accentual Structure of Isolable English Phrases to Carlyle's Dante* and even *A Fable of Bidpai*. Nevertheless, everything in the book can be classified either as philology or as pedagogy. In his capacity of philologist Professor Scott has a wide range, but reveals a partiality for the linguistic side. In his capacity of teacher he shows himself tolerant and objective, and interested primarily, not in methods but in results. This attitude is that of the true *magister*, of course, and one can only envy those who have had the privilege of sitting at his feet. The book makes pleasant reading, for both layman and scholar,

¹⁰ According to the edition of Bertoni in the publications of the *Gesellschaft für romanische Litteratur*, Band 28, pp. 254-5.

¹¹ According to the edition of Bertoni: *Il canzoniere provenzale di Bernart Amoros* (Fribourg, 1911).

¹² For example, I have examined closely the piece No. 7 (Daude de Pradas, 17), and although there are to be found many minor errors in the variants, and although the MSS. CEIKMR have not been considered, there is nothing which calls for a change in the text as established by K.

and by reason of its sanity, its vision, and its trustworthiness, it has earned a place in many a well-selected library.

I find myself in almost continual agreement with Mr. Scott, as he makes his points, and so I have little to offer by way of correction or adverse comment. On p. 4 he labels *just fahncy* as Londonese. But surely no Londoner ever said *fahncy*! The pronunciation is characteristic of foreigners making mistakes in trying to learn English; I have also heard it in the mouths of Americans who thought they were speaking as the English do. A true Londoner pronounces *fancy* with a front *a*. On p. 22 Mr. Scott speaks of a *philologist* when he evidently means *linguist*. And on p. 85 I find this shocking statement: "I have read [English] literature in its whole extent from Chaucer down." How long will people keep on calling Chaucer the earliest English writer? Mr. Scott certainly knows better; he knows and enjoys *Beowulf*, of course; and yet he here falls in with the popular notion that English literature began in the fourteenth century. No wonder Miss Harriet Monroe tells us that our present-day American poets are "shaking hands with the poets of Chaucer's time and are broadcasting the idea of poetry gained when the English language was being formed from the Anglo-Saxon and French."¹ And with Mr. Scott's example before us we are not surprised to find a reviewer in the *New Republic*² swallowing with child-like faith the "reminder" that "French poetry is some centuries older than English." Is Old English by any chance Anglo-Saxon in Mr. Scott's nomenclature? If so, that fact would explain, though it would not justify, his apparent tendency to forget that there is such a thing as Old English literature.

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¹ I quote from a news despatch in the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, May 21, 1926.

² Oct. 6, 1926, p. 200, col. 1 bottom.

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